

**TRUTH, REPENTANCE AND NABOTH'S VINEYARD: TOWARDS
RECONCILIATION IN AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND**

ALISTAIR REESE BTh; BA (Hons); MA (Hons)

WOLFSON COLLEGE

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TRUTH, REPENTANCE AND NABOTH'S VINEYARD: TOWARDS RECONCILIATION IN AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND

Chapter One: Introduction

In February 1990, the Māori Bishop of Aotearoa¹, Rt. Reverend Whakahuihui Vercoe addressed those gathered at the annual Treaty of Waitangi commemorations, at Waitangi New Zealand. In the presence of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, the New Zealand Prime Minister Geoffrey Palmer, church leaders and other dignitaries, he made reference to the Treaty of Waitangi, signed 150 years earlier between representatives of Queen Victoria and over 500 Māori *rangatira* (chiefs). He stated in his address that this treaty had not been honoured and his people, the Māori remain marginalized and dishonoured. He concluded his statement with a plea for the representatives of the two peoples to meet together in honesty, sincerity, and love, a call for what we may term, a dialogue of reconciliation:

I want to quote from Psalm 137, "By the rivers of Babylon there we sat down, and there we wept when we remembered Zion". It is much more expressive in Māori and I take liberties with the scripture.

"I te tahi o nga wahi o Waitangi noho ana tatou i reira. A, e tangi ana tatou ka mahara kia Hiro". [By the waters of Waitangi we sat down. We cried when we remembered Zion.]

Some of us have come here to celebrate, some to commemorate, some to commiserate, but some to remember what happened on this sacred ground. We come to this sacred ground because our tupuna [ancestors] left us this ground. A hundred and fifty years ago a compact was signed, a covenant was made between two people – to this place where a treaty was signed to give birth to a nation – a unique and unusual circumstance. Some of us have come here to remember what our tupuna said on this ground – that the treaty was a compact between two people. *But since the signing of that treaty one hundred and fifty years ago I want to remind our partner that you have marginalized us, you have not honoured the treaty, we have not honoured each other in the promises that we made in this sacred ground. Since 1840, the partner that has been marginalized is me, the language of the land is yours, the custom is yours, the media by which we tell the whole world is yours... What I came here for is to re-new ties that made us a nation in 1840. I don't want to debate the treaty; I don't want to re-negotiate the treaty. I want the treaty to stand firmly as the unity – the means by which we are one nation... as I remember the songs of our land, as I remember the history of our land; I weep here on the shores of the Bay of Islands. May God give us the courage to be honest with one*

¹ Aotearoa, 'land of the long white cloud', alternative and indigenous name for New Zealand.

*another, to be sincere with one another and above all to love one another in the strength of God? So I come to the waters of Waitangi to weep for what could have been a unique document in the history of the world of indigenous people against the Pakeha, and I still have the hope that can do it. Let us sit and listen to each one another. [Italics mine]*²

The year of Bishop Vercoe's speech, 1990 was described by the Conference of Churches in Aotearoa New Zealand (CCANZ) as a '*kairos*' or 'crisis' year.³ On the same day that Bishop Whakahuihui Vercoe's spoke at Waitangi they issued a 21 point statement to be read in their member churches. The statement affirmed the collective church's commitment to the Treaty of Waitangi and acknowledged the influence of the Christian missionaries in the events of 1840, '[I]n advocating, translating the signing, and collecting the signatures of the Treaty'.⁴ The commitment involved accepting the '[C]hallenge this gives us to make sure that we are working in a way that honours the Treaty, and respects the rights and obligations it guarantees. It involves such things as the sharing of power and resources, the investigation of our land-holdings, the rapid settlement of just claims, and the use of the Maori language'.⁵ In the view of the various signatories it also involved understanding and facing issues of the past. 'In 1990 we acknowledge these realities that have emerged from our history, and we resolve to work for justice and equity, so that the Gospel of reconciliation may prevail'.⁶ Although the statement was an explicit declaration of the church's position it was also offered to the country at large, presumably as a template for reconciliation. 'We believe a strong and creative partnership, in all aspects of our common life, based on the Treaty, will give us peace and strength. This partnership will involve a deep mutual respect, communication, and pride in our cultural heritages. We offer to the nation what is true for us in the Church: In 1990 this is our confidence and our hope.'⁷

² Bishop Whakahuihui Vercoe, cited in 'A Maori Perspective' by Joseph A Huta, in *CTC Bulletin*, Vol. XVII, No.2, April, 2001 and Allan K. Davidson's *Aotearoa New Zealand*, Geneva: WCC Publications, 1996, p.48

³ 'A Church Leaders' Statement for 1990: A Background', Wellington: Conference of Churches in Aotearoa New Zealand, February 1990, p.5, <http://www.casi.org.nz/statements>, StmtChLdrs90.htm, accessed 10/10/2006. The Conference of Churches was established in 1988 as the ecumenical body of the churches in New Zealand to stand alongside the parallel Māori Ecumenical Council, Te Runanga Whakanaunga I Ngā Hahi o Aotearoa. See Full Statement, Appendix I, p. 56

⁴ 'A Church Leaders Statement For 1990', Statement 4.

⁵ Ibid, Statement 6.

⁶ Ibid, Statement 11.

⁷ Ibid, Statement 21.

This thesis is a theological and historical reflection on the need for reconciliation in Aotearoa New Zealand (New Zealand) as expressed in the above two statements. It has emerged from the personal journey of one who has enjoyed the economic and identity benefits of a dominant culture, and who was educated into the illusion of racial harmony and equal opportunity for all in 'God's own'.⁸ Like many other Pākehā⁹ New Zealanders, I have been challenged by the emergence of a postcolonial discourse such as Bishop Vercoe's, which has exposed this 'harmony' as a myth and which has reasserted the century-long complaints of loss of land, culture, and language. As a result of this revisionist perspective I have had to confront my own prejudices, assumptions, and advantages, not only as a common citizen but also as a Christian, and a spiritual descendant of nineteenth century evangelical mission. I acknowledge then that the genesis and motivation of this thesis is a subjective and activist one that aims to produce an historical overview and applied theology that will assist those who contemplate the complex process of social reconciliation. This subjectivity finds an echo in the thoughts of the Croatian theologian Miroslav Volf, who sought to understand his own response to his country's past:

Almost inescapably this... book is personal in that it cuts close to the heart of my identity. No free-floating and unaffected mind is trying here to resolve an intellectual puzzle! I chose not even to try the impossible. I, a citizen of a world at war and a follower of Jesus Christ, could not hang up my commitments, desires, rebellions, resignations, and uncertainties like a coat on a coat rack before entering my study, to be taken up and put on when the work of the day was over. My people were being brutalized, and I needed to think through the response appropriate for me, a follower of the crucified Messiah. How could I abstract from my commitments, desires, rebellions, resignations, and uncertainties? I had to think through them with as much rigour as I could muster...¹⁰

Since the 1970s, New Zealand has become a country more obviously divided, as the Crown has undertaken steps to reconcile historic grievances by expressions of apology and reparations both fiscal and territorial. The church at large mirrors this division, reflecting its erratic treatment of indigenous concerns, handicapped by lack of

⁸ Idiomatic reference to New Zealand.

⁹ Non-Māori New Zealander.

¹⁰ Miroslav Volf, *Exclusion and Embrace*, Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1996, p.10.

knowledge, cultural self-satisfaction, and theological confusion over the place of religion in the public sphere. This study then, by an integration of historical analysis into a theology of reconciliation seeks to contribute to the discourse that has emerged most markedly in the past twenty years, whereby the church in New Zealand renegotiates its own definition of mission, and its understanding of the past, as it displays a cautious willingness to explore social reconciliation, thus eroding the boundaries between the sacred and the profane. Although grounded in a local concern, it is hoped that the study will also contribute to the wider discussion whereby the Western church grapples with its understanding of mission in a postcolonial era.

The two declarations above, reflecting their nature and context are necessarily lacking in detail and carry an implicit assumption that reconciliation is a shared and comprehended value and that the marginalization of Māori as 'reality' is equally shared and understood. However, given the historical and ongoing reluctance of many sectors within the church to accept this, I shall attempt to further clarify and expand upon these complex issues. In the 'applied' section of the thesis, I intend only to deal with the Pākehā church's responsibility within the reconciliation dialogue. The more complex issue relating to the role of Māori within the process deserves further study.

The dissertation comprises three sections. The theme of reconciliation as raised by Bishop Vercoe and the CCANZ is essentially a theological concept concerned with a restored relationship. In order to understand the background of a relationship the task becomes historical as well as theological. Firstly then, I shall propose a theological rationale and model of social reconciliation as a relational process which needs to be located within the mission of the church. As an outworking of this model, I shall present an historical analysis of the New Zealand context, from 1814 to the present, in order to background the relationship between Māori and the church. In this analysis, as well as detailing the nature and 'progress' of that relationship, I shall focus on the loss of land by Māori as an example of 'marginalization' and the church's response to this loss. Within this examination I shall also describe how during this period, the biblical narrative in 1 Kings 21 of 'Naboth's vineyard' was used by both Māori and Pākehā as an analogy

for New Zealand.¹¹ The third section draws from the theological model and historical analysis and concludes that the church in New Zealand, despite initial clearly enunciated condemnations of land alienation, not only maintained an attitude of silence with regard to the land loss, but was also a complicit partner with the Crown in this loss.¹² The church's complicity, especially in light of its mediation of the Treaty of Waitangi, is something for which it needs to repent. This will be followed by an account of several attempts by the church to acknowledge historical grievances, and using these examples, I shall propose several further steps specific to the New Zealand context that I deem important to a dialogue of reconciliation.

I should like to acknowledge the invaluable advice and assistance given to me over an extended period by my supervisor Dr. Brian Stanley. Also Dr. Allan Davidson and Dr. John Stenhouse, two New Zealand church historians have been very helpful with their comments, as has Professor David Ford, who gave me time when really he had none to spare. I dedicate the thesis to the members of *Te Kohinga*, the Christian leadership network in Tauranga, New Zealand, who provide an inspiration to the church in New Zealand by their pioneering reconciliatory work. No reira, ko tōku whakawhetai tēnei ki a kōutou, (Therefore, my thanks to you all).

¹¹ *The New International Version*, Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1984 (revised edition), is used throughout the study.

¹² Note: the term 'church' shall be used generically to refer to the settler church, denominational institutions and the various missionaries and mission agencies unless specified otherwise.

Chapter Two: The Gospel Imperative of Reconciliation

Bishop Whakahuihui Vercoe's statement at Waitangi could be termed a 'reconciliatory challenge', a challenge that calls for the restoration of a relationship initiated at Waitangi one hundred and fifty years earlier. I consider his call as a representative one, in that it echoes similar pleas by Māori through the years and although issued seventeen years ago it continues to resonate within current indigenous aspirations.¹³ Unfortunately the type of dialogue envisioned by Vercoe is not one that has historically been shared by the church in New Zealand. In this chapter therefore I shall consider some reasons for this, as well as establishing a theological rationale and model for a reconciliatory dialogue of this type. I shall commence by arguing that reconciliation needs to be considered an essential component of Christian mission as well as outlining some of its essential characteristics.

Ironically, it is the relationship between mission, especially nineteenth century evangelical mission and its complex intersection with Western colonization that sets much of the historical framework for the present study. It is clear that the critique of the church's role in imperialism and colonization, has had a major impact on the church's self understanding of mission per se. Max Warren, for many years the General Secretary of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) in Great Britain, referred to what he termed '[A] terrible failure of nerve about the missionary enterprise'.¹⁴ Similarly, missiologist David Bosch stated, 'In some circles this has led to an almost complete paralysis and total withdrawal from any activity traditionally associated with mission, in whatever form'.¹⁵

Christian mission has not only been critiqued by those with postcolonial secular perspectives, but also from within its own ranks. Ludwig Rutti '[C]laims that the entire missionary enterprise is so polluted by its origins in and close association with Western

¹³ See for example the recent formation of the Māori political party in 2004.

¹⁴ Max Warren, cited in David Bosch's *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission*, Maryknoll: Orbis, 1991, p.6.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, p.7.

colonialism that it is irredeemable'.¹⁶ Whereas Emerito Nacpil, speaking at a consultation in Kuala Lumpur in February 1971, depicts mission as, '[A] symbol of the universality of Western imperialism among the rising generations of the Third World...The present structure of modern mission is dead. And the first thing we ought to do is to eulogize it and then bury it'.¹⁷

However, we may note here the argument of David Paton, a strident critic of the church's missionary role in China, who rejected calls for the abandonment of mission as an antiquated concept. He has argued that to repent of past mistakes is not the same as relinquishing the core mission paradigm, 'A call to repentance is not a call to drop important work, but to do it otherwise. The Mission of the church abides'.¹⁸ David Bosch poses a question that is particularly relevant to a church considering its postcolonial options:

How can the church repent of past mistakes?does it have to capitulate to the pressures of a world radically different from the one into which it first ventured to reach out missionally? Or can it respond creatively to the challenges it is encountering? These are some of the questions and issues to which we are called to hazard a response. Repentance has to begin with a bold recognition of the fact that the church-in-mission is today facing a world fundamentally different from anything it faced before. This in itself calls for a new understanding of mission. We live in a period of transition...¹⁹

He then suggests that the church needs to be 'multidimensional in order to be credible and faithful to its origins and character'.²⁰ This 'multidimensional mission' is to be found within, 'images, metaphors and events' rather than being restricted to 'logic and analysis.' A key images, he suggests, is Christ's death on the cross - that 'badge of distinction of the Christian faith', that among things, 'stands for reconciliation between estranged individuals and groups, between oppressors and oppressed....not a mere sentimental harmonizing of conflicting groups. It demands sacrifice, in very different but also in very real ways, from both oppressor and oppressed. It demands the end to

¹⁶ Ludwig Rutti, cited in Bosch, p.518.

¹⁷ Emerito Nacpil, cited in Bosch, p. 518.

¹⁸ David M, Paton, cited in Bosch, p.365.

¹⁹ Bosch, pp.365-6.

²⁰ Bosch, p.512.

oppression and injustice and commitment to a new life of mutuality, justice, and peace'.²¹ Bosch's identification of reconciliation between groups as an outworking of Christ's work on the cross, as an 'element' of an 'emerging ecumenical missionary paradigm' and a 'new' paradigm of mission begs the question. If this type of reconciliation is fundamental to the 'origins and character' of the faith, what is new about it?²² Certainly it is not that reconciliation has not occupied a central place in Christian theology and even mission; it is rather the narrow parameters that have defined that understanding.

Jacques Matthey, World Council of Churches (WCC) programme executive for Mission and Evangelism, has said, 'If I was to summarize in one sentence the importance of the "reconciliation" terminology in the reports from the WCC world mission conferences...I would have to confess that it plays no major role'.²³ According to Matthey, 'reconciliation terminology' found no place in WCC mission thinking until the end of the eighties and early nineties.²⁴ Clearly, what Matthey is referring to, is not the absence of reconciliation per se within any WCC mission discourse, but a particular kind of reconciliation, that is, the social dimensions of reconciliation, or, what I shall term, social reconciliation.

Traditionally the church has largely neglected this dimension, preferring to concentrate on the personal ramifications of its reconciliation doctrine. This element which emphasises the bringing together of the individual with God, rests on the belief that all humankind are judged as sinful and therefore estranged from a holy God, and therefore in need of redemption and reconciliation. This interpretation allows for individuals to be reconciled with God and even with each other on a personal basis, but resists extrapolating the metaphor towards the wider world. Catholic theologian, Gregory Baum has noted the reluctance to connect the theological idea of reconciliation to social responsibility:

²¹ Bosch, p.514.

²² Bosch, Chapter 12.

²³ Joseph Matthey, 'Reconciliation, *Missio Dei* and the Church's Mission', in Howard Mellor's and Timothy Yates', *Mission, Violence and Reconciliation*, Sheffield: Cliff College Publishing, 2004, p.113.

²⁴ *Ibid*, p.114.

[T]he church's theological tradition offers very little wisdom on the social meaning of reconciliation. It is symptomatic that even in the recent *Handbook of Catholic Theology* ...the long, scholarly article on reconciliation makes no reference whatever to the reconciliation between peoples. *The New Dictionary of Catholic Social Thought*, (1994), contains no article on reconciliation. Reflection on this topic is only beginning in the church.²⁵

A Theology of Reconciliation

Although the term reconciliation is used infrequently as a specific term, the idea embodied in the word is certainly present throughout the Scriptures. The word 'reconciliation' became part of Christian terminology via the Latin Vulgate's use of *reconciliato* to translate Paul's *κἀτάλλάγη*. It entered the English language via the French and ultimately into the King James Version, where it mirrored the use by the church, in the sense of peace with God and one another.²⁶ However in current usage the word along with others like forgiveness and healing has now become common rhetoric in the realms of politics and the media, which has prompted the Archbishop of Canterbury, Rowan Williams to warn that the term has become 'such a seductively comfortable word, fatally close to "consensus"'.²⁷

South African theologian, John de Gruchy identifies four distinct but interrelated ways of speaking about reconciliation. The first refers to a restored relationship between God and humans. Secondly, the interpersonal, refers to the relations between individuals, as in the restoration of a marriage relationship, or between a victim and a perpetrator of a crime. Thirdly, the social, refers to the reconciliation between alienated communities on a local neighbourhood level. Finally the political, refers to projects such as the process of national reconciliation in South Africa, Guatemala and Northern Ireland.²⁸ Despite the current tendencies of overuse and confused meaning, the term may be applied in an interrelated way in all these spheres. This understanding of the multifaceted scope of God's reconciling work became foundational to the ethics of Dietrich Bonhoeffer, who

²⁵ G. Baum, 'A Theological Afterword', in *The Reconciliation of Peoples: Challenge to the Church*, G. Baum, (ed), Geneva: WCC Publications, 1997, pp.184-92, p.187.

²⁶ John de Gruchy *Reconciliation: Restoring Justice*, Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2002, p.26.

²⁷ Rowan Williams, *On Christian Theology*, Oxford; Blackwell Publishers, 2000, p.266.

²⁸ de Gruchy, p.26.

earlier than many refused any dichotomy in the church's area of activity and responsibility. The German activist-theologian pronounced that there is only one 'reality' and this belongs to God and is a sphere which has been transformed by Christ. 'The reality of the world has been marked once and for all by the cross of Christ, but the cross of Christ is the cross of reconciliation of the world with God, and for this reason the godless bears at the same time the mark of reconciliation as the free ordinance of God'.²⁹ From his perspective then, reconciliation is a divine imperative that should permeate every sphere of the church's activity.

As I have already stated, reconciliation is certainly a recurrent if not always explicit theme within the unfolding biblical narrative, as is the concomitant idea of peace or *shalom*. The early creation narrative in Genesis describes the situation of *shalom* that exists in Eden. Not only was humankind at peace with God, but also with each other, reflecting their 'God-image', of co-equal dignity and co-equal respect. Human rebellion interrupted this order and produced an environment characterized by estrangement, enmity and disharmony – this shattering of *shalom* left the natural world, humankind, and God in an unreconciled condition. The ramifications of the Fall were seen in the expulsion from Eden, the alienation between Cain and Abel, and the scattering of the nations at Babel, to name a few. The goal to restore the state of *shalom* by the reconciliation of the created order is a divine initiative that was embedded in the mission of Jesus. The eschatological culmination of this reconciliation process, which began in Eden, and made effective through Christ's death on the cross, is witnessed in the new heaven and new earth of John's apocalyptic vision on the island of Patmos.

While it might be argued that within the divine redemptive plan, reconciliation of humans to God has primacy, a reconciled community of humankind can also be seen as an outworking of that experience. The primary vertical expression rests in the initiative of a loving God, a manifestation of divine grace, and lies at the heart of the gospel. While traditional scholarship may have emphasised this aspect, Scripture also establishes this model of God's reconciling pattern towards an estranged humanity, as the paradigm for

²⁹ Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Ethics*, cited in de Gruchy, p. 72.

interpersonal relations. Which may explain why the most extensive treatment of the vertical reconciliation theme is found in Paul's second letter to the Corinthians, (2 Cor 5:11 – 21), a community besieged by human strife. To the church in Rome Paul exhorted, 'Accept one another, then, just as Christ accepted you.' (Rom 15:7). This statement among others in chapters 12-15 outlines the social dimension of reconciliation in various ways, others include: genuine love for one another, blessing one's persecutors, overcoming evil with good and living at peace with all. These practices of reconciliation are anchored in and presuppose the mission of Jesus as the foundation and paradigm for a reconciling way of life.³⁰

This interpersonal theme is extended in the epistle to the Ephesians and demonstrates that the divine plan of reconciliation is not restricted to the God/human relationship or even the dynamic of personal relationships, but extends to include people groups. The passage, Ephesians 2:12-19 explains that Christ's reconciling work via the cross dealt with the cause of enmity between Jews and Gentiles. These two peoples have now potentially been reconciled, the cause of their former alienation, the law, has been removed by Christ's sacrifice:

For he [Christ] himself is our peace, who has made the two one and has destroyed the barrier, the dividing wall of hostility...His purpose was to create in himself one new man out of the two, thus making peace, and in this one body to reconcile both of them to God through the cross, by which he put to death their hostility. He came and preached peace to you who were far away and peace to those who were near (Eph 2: 14 – 17).

A further extrapolation of the broad reach of reconciliation is found in Paul's epistle to the church at Colossae, 'For in him (Christ) all the fullness of God was pleased to dwell, and through him God was pleased to reconcile to himself all things, whether on earth or in heaven, by making peace through the blood of his cross (Col 1:20). Thus for Paul, the vision for the cosmos is the ultimate reconciliation of all things, reminiscent again of John's apocalyptic vision.

³⁰ Corneliu Constantineanu, 'The Social Significance of Reconciliation in Paul's Theology, With Particular Reference to the Romanian Context', Abstract, PhD Thesis, Theology and Religious Studies, University of Leeds, March 2006.

To summarize then, the divine initiative of grace embodied in the propitiatory and exemplary life and death of Christ served to fulfil the reconciling agenda of God, both vertically and horizontally. Because, as in the words of Miroslav Volf, 'Reconciliation between God and humanity is at the heart of the Gospel we proclaim; reconciliation between human beings estranged on account of injustice, deception and violence must be at the centre of the mission we pursue. This difficult task of reconciliation should command our imagination, our intelligence, and our resources'.³¹ Or as succinctly stated by the WCC, the mission of the church is to, 'bring humanity and all of creation into communion'.³²

Characteristics of Social Reconciliation

If we accept the theological underpinnings of a broad horizontal application of reconciliation, what then are some of its inherent components? De Gruchy has defined social reconciliation as '[A] process in which there is a mutual attempt to heal and overcome enmities, build trust and relationships, and develop a shared commitment to the common good'.³³ As noted, reconciliation is firstly a divine initiative and an ultimate *telos* of God; but as a human and social process, it becomes a quest and journey towards this eschatological promise and reality. Reconciliation then is a relational dynamic towards restored community, rather than a static absolutist condition. John Paul Lederach holds that the '[S]tarting point for understanding reconciliation processes is a reorientation toward the centrality of relationships. It is in the ebb and flow, the quality interdependence of relationships that we find the birthplace and home of reconciliation. This is quite different than ... [only focusing] on "issues", the shaping of substantive agreements, or cognitive and rational analytic-based approaches to conflict resolution'.³⁴ This relationship based dynamic towards restored community, invites comparison to the vibrant interpersonal flux experienced in the bond of marriage. Seen in this way reconciliation remains an ongoing and never-ending negotiation between two

³¹ Miroslav Volf, 'A Theology of Embrace for a World of Exclusion'. In *Explorations in Reconciliation: New Directions in Theology*, Edited by David Tombs and Joseph Liechty, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006, p. 33.

³² WCC, 'The Nature and Purpose of the Church: A Stage on the Way to a Common Statement', *Faith and Order Paper* No. 181, Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1998, section 26.

³³ John de Gruchy, p. 21.

³⁴ John Paul Lederach, 'Five Qualities of Practice', in Raymond G. Helmick's S.J. and Rodney L. Petersen's, *Forgiveness and Reconciliation*, Pennsylvania: Templeton Foundation Press, 2001, p.185.

parties, as opposed to a finite and completed state. Significantly Isaiah, prophesying about the restored relationship between Judah and God, utilises the metaphor of marriage to describe the reconciled bond. The land of Judah is prophetically referred to as Beulah, or 'married', signifying the idealized communion or community of two that is found within that covenant (Is 62:4).³⁵

Within this dynamic however, I propose there are identifiable characteristics, interrelated concepts that together contribute to a reconciled relationship, this non-exclusive list primarily includes: justice, forgiveness, truth, and repentance. Each of these qualities carries an inherent theological complexity that can only be partially covered in this study. The integration of these components, particularly the temporal sequencing of justice and reconciliation is a contentious theme among theologians. Those such as David Tombs, Celia Clegg and John de Gruchy, who are influenced by liberation theology, insist on justice as a prerequisite of reconciliation, in order not to offer a form of 'cheap reconciliation'.³⁶ A contrary view is held by Miroslav Volf. Whilst he agrees that the pursuit of liberation and the quest for justice are indispensable and integral to Christian responsibility, he critiques the 'justice first' position on two fronts.³⁷ Firstly, he claims it is a denial of the divine model of reconciliation whereby God, through the death of Christ, dies (and initiates reconciliation) for the ungodly, that is the undeserving. This manifestation of grace, Volf suggests needs to be an inherent quality within the human dimensions of reconciliation. He also suggests that absolute justice is an unachievable goal that therefore militates against any progress towards a satisfactory reconciliation. Rather, he argues it is possible to explicate in social terms a relationship between grace and justice, whereby justice '[W]ould become subordinate rather than the primary category around which Christian social engagement is organized; or rather, the struggle for justice would be understood as a dimension of reconciliation whose ultimate goal is a community of love'.³⁸

³⁵ My thanks to John Dawson of the International Reconciliation Coalition, for this concept.

³⁶ A term borrowed from Dietrich Bonhoeffer's concept of 'cheap grace'.

³⁷ Volf, 'The Social Meaning of Reconciliation' in *Interpretation* 54, No.2, April 2000, pp.158 – 172, p.170.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

There is certainly, as the first group of theologians have argued a need to avoid a simplistic model of reconciliation, hence their appeal to justice as a primary condition. A complicating factor though, consistent with Volf's argument is the difficulty of defining justice, as Duncan Forrester asserts:

Because understandings of justice are so varied, volatile and confusing, administering justice and attempting to frame and apply politics that are just, become perplexing and systematically confusing operations...the problems for people on the ground who feel a calling to act justly and dispense justice are acute. Different and sometimes incompatible ideas of justice are presented...and in a situation where 'nobody knows what justice is', often enough it is the self-interest of the powerful that prevails because the trumpet-call for justice makes an uncertain sound... Only very rarely is an account of justice presented as resting on an ontology, or the nature of things, or as being in some sense 'true'.³⁹

Volf's 'grace argument' and Forrester's reasoning make a persuasive case for including justice within a reconciliation model, as opposed to a non-negotiable, primary absolute that is positioned as a pre-condition for the process.

The concept of forgiveness stands in juxtaposition to justice and as such raises its own issues. For example, to what extent is forgiveness a prerequisite of reconciliation especially in the light of an imperfect justice? That it is foundational as a practice in Christian discipleship is indisputable. For as L. Gregory Jones has stated, 'If Christian life is fundamentally oriented toward the coming fullness of God's eschatological reign, then so should be our practices and understanding of Christian forgiveness'.⁴⁰ If we consider again the divine/human paradigm of reconciliation as a model for social reconciliation, we note the central motivation of forgiveness. It was demonstrated in Christ's life and also in his death. Paul wrote, 'But God demonstrated his own love for us in this: while we were still sinners, Christ died for us' (Rm 5:8). Social reconciliation as restored relationship necessarily assumes the presence of forgiveness flowing between each party. To cite Jones again:

A Christian account of forgiveness ought not simply or even primarily be focused on the absolution of guilt; rather, it ought to be focused on the reconciliation of

³⁹ Duncan B. Forrester, *Christian Justice and Public Policy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997, p.1.

⁴⁰ L. Gregory Jones, *Embodying Forgiveness: A Theological Analysis*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995, p.64.

brokenness, the restoration of communion – with God, with one another, and with the whole of Creation. Indeed, because of the persuasiveness of sin and evil, Christian forgiveness must be at once an expression of a commitment to a way of life, the cruciform life of holiness in which we seek to “unlearn” sin and learn the ways of God, and a means of seeking reconciliation in the midst of particular sins, specific instances of brokenness.⁴¹

The final components, truth and repentance, are two interdependent concepts, for a desire for truth is a condition of genuine repentance. The place of both is well established within traditional Christian orthodoxy. Truth has been equated as synonymous with the Godhead, - ‘I am the way, the truth and the life’, (Jn 14:6); and also a virtue that will bring a promised liberty - ‘Then you will know the truth and the truth will set you free, (Jn 8:32). This latter verse was a common refrain at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission hearings in South Africa. Consistent with the divine characteristic of truth is the concomitant application within reconciliation dialogue that, ‘Reconciliation has to be based upon truth-telling’.⁴² This assertion certainly has biblical foundation. For example David’s repentant cry in Psalm 51:6, ‘Surely you desire truth on the inward parts’. While in the New Testament we see ‘truth-telling’ as foundational to genuine Christian community, ‘If we claim to have fellowship with him yet walk in the darkness, we lie, and do not live by the truth. But if we walk in the light, as he is in the light, we have fellowship with one another...’ (1 Jn 1:6, 7).

With regard to social reconciliation, ‘truth’ has two separate components, ‘truth-recovery’ – the recognition of what has been done and ‘truth-telling’ – the public acknowledgement of that. Truth-recovery is not only an objective inquiry into the past but it may also be characterized as a form of ‘listening’ to the voice of the offended Other. This may involve a ‘face to face’ hearing of their complaint and equally it may necessitate an analysis of the past by skilled historians, especially in the case of long running historical and political disputes. Both methods equate to a form of ‘listening’ and demonstrate an attitude of repentance. Within some political contexts truth-recovery has

⁴¹ Jones, p. xii.

⁴² Howard Mellor and Timothy Yates, ‘Foreword’ in *Mission, Violence and Reconciliation*, edited by Howard Mellor and Timothy Yates, Sheffield: Cliff College Publishing, 2004, p.9.

been controversial, especially in South Africa and Guatemala, because of the trauma experienced by victims revisiting a disturbing violent past or being confronted by the perpetrators of this violence. If reconciliation is the stated goal of these processes, then perhaps a way needs to be negotiated that is suited to each circumstance and group. This is particularly possible if justice fills a 'subordinate category' within a reconciliation paradigm as opposed to a non-negotiable primary one. The other major difficulty in truth-recovery is the difficulty of accurately 'recreating' the past. Certainly it is difficult enough, when the attempts to recover truth concern the living. How much more complex it is when truth-recovery is being attempted by the descendants of those who are dead, for as David Lowenthal has said, 'The Past is a Foreign Country'.⁴³ This factor alone brings serious historiographical challenges to the process.

Regardless of the complexities, truth-recovery remains an important component of any reconciliation procedure, and as already stated forms a key aspect of repentance. *Metanoia* is really the adoption of a 'different mindset' and a different way of living, based upon a reconfigured understanding of reality. Seen in this way then, repentance is not a single action, but describes the whole processing of 'turning'. Within a dialogue of reconciliation it involves a willingness to engage with the Other, and to use a Rankean phrase, to find out 'what really happened' and then to respond in a manner appropriate to that discovery. This 'different mindset' would ordinarily involve a Godward confession of sin as a response to God. This equates to a form of apology as epitomized especially in the penitential Psalms, (Ps 6; Ps 32; Ps 38; Ps 51; Ps 102; Ps 130; Ps 143) and within the New Testament exhortations of James (5:16) and John (1 Jn 1: 5-9). However, to advance the cause of reconciliation a personal response to an offended party would normally be in evidence (James 5:16) and according to John de Gruchy, 'Both words and deeds are necessary if we are to rescue reconciliation from banality and recover its costly connection with telling the truth and social justice'.⁴⁴ The deeds that de Gruchy refers to may involve some kind of restitution, as per the example of the repentant Zacchaeus in Luke 19:2 or as expressed within the various restitution laws in Old Testament Israel (Ex 22; Lev 5). The nature of the restitution as a constituent

⁴³ David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

⁴⁴ de Gruchy, p.22.

of repentance, may to some extent be dependent upon the perpetrator and the victim arriving at a similar understanding of the past and the impact that this has on the present. Thus the final 'shape' of *metanoia* is not a formulaic or predetermined condition, but requires an attitude that reflects a Christ-like willingness to be humbled.

One final comment needs to be made with regard to repentance and historical grievances. This is the problematic separation of time and identity and the issue of vicarious responsibility. I suggest that accountability does not necessarily rest on direct involvement. In contrast to Western concepts of autonomous individualism, the Bible speaks of an intergenerational interconnectedness of responsibility (and rights), as in the sin of Adam and conversely, the atoning work of Christ.

Perhaps the biblical example with the most relevance to this study, besides the intergenerational confessions of Daniel (Dan 9:4,5, 19), Nehemiah (Neh 1: 6, 7), and Ezra (Ezra 9: 6,7) is the narrative in 2 Samuel 21. This account describes the judgement of God upon Israel, because King Saul and by extension Israel, broke the treaty made with the Gibeonites via a previous Israelite leader, Joshua (Joshua 9:16). Briefly, the Gibeonites deceived Joshua into making a peace treaty with them as Israel was being established in the land of promise. Some four hundred years later, Israel suffered a three -year famine in the reign of David, Saul's successor. David consulted God about the famine and the divine response came, 'It is because of Saul and his blood-stained house; it is because he put the Gibeonites to death', (2 Sam 21:1). Thus Israel, and particularly its leaders, were held accountable for past actions, in this case to a treaty that was agreed to in dubious circumstances.

For how long 'accountability' lasts is not clear, but it may be related to a concept such as corporate memory, which relates to the length of time the effects of an offence impacts upon the memory or circumstances of a people. For example, in the case of ethnic cleansing or genocide, the impact of these certainly extends beyond a single generation, as indeed does the economic effect of some strategies of colonialism. Suffice to say that the privileges and responsibilities of identity are seen as intergenerational, hence the biblical concept of judgement being extended 'to the third

and fourth generation' (Ex 34:7). A slightly different example, but a similar concept is found with land. If land can be an inheritance, then perhaps the unjust alienation of land, with its inherent consequences, needs to be considered an intergenerational legacy or responsibility. David Stevens states, 'There is solidarity in sin which involves the living and the dead.'⁴⁵ Also the philosopher Alasdair MacIntyre makes a similar argument, 'I inherit from the past of my family, my city, my tribe, my nation, a variety of debts, inheritances, rightful expectations, and obligations. I am born with a past; and to try to cut myself off from the past is to deform my present relationships. The possession of an historical identity and the possession of a social identity coincide'.⁴⁶ Likewise Dietrich Bonhoeffer claimed after World War I, 'There is not only the culpability of individual Germans and individual Christians, but also the culpability of Germany and the Church. It is not enough for individuals to repent and be justified; Germany and the Church must likewise repent and be justified'.⁴⁷ It was this same rationale that led him later to identify with the sins of the Church in Germany over the rise of Nazism, despite his own personal innocence.⁴⁸

One of the aims of truth-recovery and truth-telling is to change the fissuring discourse that operates as a type of meta-narrative among divided communities. These narratives which are passed down from generation to generation recount the undealt with sins of the past and fuel the dividing motivations of the present. An example of this is found in the comments of New Zealand Ngai Tahu elder Tipene O'Regan, who testified before the 1986 Bicultural Commission of the Anglican Church. He remarked about Bishop Selwyn, Samuel Marsden and other missionaries, 'I don't want to forgive them – or their ilk. The memory keeps me warm, keeps the fires burning'.⁴⁹ The redemptive goal is that through the twin processes of truth –recovery and truth telling a new narrative is formed and the community discourse becomes a shared one, similar to the post-cross scenario

⁴⁵ David Stevens, *The Land of Unlikeness: Explorations into Reconciliation*, Dublin: The Columbia Press, 2004, p. 115.

⁴⁶ Alasdair MacIntyre, *After Virtue*, cited in Stevens, p.116.

⁴⁷ Dietrich Bonhoeffer, cited in de Gruchy, p.108.

⁴⁸ Ibid, p.110.

⁴⁹ Tipene O'Regan, 'Appendix' in *Te Ripoata a te Komihana mo te Kaupapa Tikanga Rua mo te Tiriti o Waitangi/ The Report of the Bicultural Commission of the Anglican Church on the Treaty of Waitangi*, Auckland: The Provincial Secretary of the Church of the Province of New Zealand, July, 1986, p.29.

for Jews and Gentiles as outlined in Ephesians 2. The concept of corporate memory and narrative is an important one and plays a significant role in the 'nation-building' process. It was well utilized by Israel to form their self-understanding as evidenced for example in the words of the Psalmist Asaph, 'I will utter hidden things, things from of old – what we have heard and known, what our fathers have told us. We will not hide them from their children; we will tell the next generation...so the next generation would know them, even the children yet to be born, and they would tell their children'. (Psalm 78: 2-6).

In summary, I have outlined a theological rationale for social reconciliation. In it I have argued that reconciliation is a biblical concept that reveals the divine intention to restore *shalom* to the created order. This *telos* of God involves not only the restoration of the divine-human relationship through the work of Christ on the cross, but extends also as an horizontal act of virtue between individuals, communities, and people groups, and as such is to be incorporated within the church's overall mission. Seen in this way, the church then needs to see the work of reconciliation as a divine imperative, as per the instructions of Jesus, 'Therefore, if you are offering your gift at the altar and there remember that your brother has something against you, leave your gift there in front of the altar. First go and be reconciled to your brother; then come and offer your gift'. (Matt 5:23-24).

Christ's injunction leads us back to the 'reconciliatory challenge' of Bishop Whakahuihui Vercoe. His broad ranging statement that Pākehā have neglected the covenant of the Treaty and marginalised his people reveals an 'offended brother'. Using the above paradigm of social reconciliation, the church of New Zealand can not claim that the pleas of Māori rest outside its mission responsibility, and if repentance and its corollary truth-recovery are necessary steps towards this reconciliation then it needs to heed these pleas and investigate the 'truth claims' of betrayal and marginalization. This leads us then to the historical analysis, a form of listening to the truth about the past.

Chapter 3: Missions and Māori

The next two chapters serve as an aid to truth- recovery within our reconciliation paradigm. In the present chapter I shall give a brief overview of the link between the early missionary church, its association with Māori both political and ecclesial, and detail the impact of the land wars upon their relationship. I shall conclude with a short synopsis describing the emergence of the settler church and the struggle for autonomy by Māori Christians. This necessarily condensed summary, locates this study's concern with reconciliation between the church and Māori into its historical context.

Conventional academic history as outlined in *The Oxford History of New Zealand*⁵⁰ and James Belich's *Making Peoples*⁵¹ proposes that New Zealand was first occupied by a number of tribes of Polynesian origin around 1000 years prior to European settlement. These tribal peoples, became *tangata whenua*, (people of the land) each with their individual names, but referred to themselves generically as Māori (common/normal), and were commonly called 'New Zealanders' by the British; Māori in turn referred to the European immigrants as Pākehā. First European contact came in 1642 with the Dutch explorer, Abel Tasman, hence its European name *Nieuw Zeeland* /New Zealand, named after a coastal province in Holland. The arrival of Captain James Cook, whose enthusiasm for the land in 1769 located it as a place of opportunity and his visit paved the way for a gradual upsurge in European arrivals. The first wave began slowly - the visitors consisting of whalers, sealers, and traders; these arrivals signalled the beginning of the complex, and at times mutually beneficial era of encounter.

Missionary beginnings are identified with the second phase of European contact with New Zealand. Before 1814, encounter and settlement was limited and haphazard - the missionaries were among the first Europeans to live with Māori and to learn their language and grapple with their culture. Their interest in New Zealand was generated by Samuel Marsden, the British Anglican chaplain in New South Wales. This influential figure, a personal acquaintance of anti-slavery parliamentarian William Wilberforce, like

⁵⁰ Geoffrey W. Rice, (ed), *Oxford History of New Zealand*, Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1992.

⁵¹ James Belich, *Making Peoples*, Auckland: Penguin, 1996.

many of the missionaries who were to follow him to New Zealand, was a product of twin influences, the Enlightenment, and the nineteenth century evangelical revival in England. It was the Anglican Church Missionary Society (CMS) that was to dominate the early thrust of Christian mission to New Zealand. However, prior to 1840 there were also two other mission groups, the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, (WMMS), of a similar evangelical outlook to the CMS, and the third group, the Society of Mary or Marists, a newly created French Catholic missionary order, who arrived in 1838 under Bishop Pompallier. These groups continued the Protestant/Catholic and British/French rivalry that was endemic to Europe, as they struggled for ascendancy in the affections of Māori, with all the spiritual and temporal advantages that would mean for their respective missions. In this study though, I shall concentrate in large part, but not exclusively to the dominant role of the CMS and the Anglican Church.

In 1814, Marsden accompanied by Ruatara and Hongi Heke, two influential northern Māori chiefs⁵², and three missionaries, William Hall, John King, and Thomas Kendall and families, sailed from Sydney to the Bay of Islands. Marsden preached his first sermon on Christmas Day from the text in Luke 2, 'Behold, I bring you glad tidings of great joy'. Neither of these first CMS missionaries designated for New Zealand were ordained ministers but their 'lay' abilities fitted with Marsden's strategy to first 'civilize' Māori before seeking their conversion. Although he judged Māori '[T]o be a very superior people in point of mental capacity', he still held that '[N]othing...can pave the way for the introduction of the gospel, but civilization'.⁵³ The first mission station was established in Rangihoua in the Bay of Islands but the first missionaries struggled for various reasons to make much progress. The arrival of Henry Williams, a former naval officer, brought a major shift in mission methodology. He abandoned Marsden's 'civilization' policy and adopted new strategies which emphasized evangelism, literacy, and the production of Bibles in Māori.

⁵² Marsden had met and befriended Ruatara on an outward trip from London and he lived with Marsden for three months in Sydney and taught him Māori. Ruatara's chiefly status, as well as Heke's was crucial to providing the hospitality and protection necessary to begin a mission station in New Zealand.

⁵³ Allan K. Davidson and Peter J. Lineham, *Transplanted Christianity: Documents Illustrating Aspects of New Zealand Church History*, (3rd edition), Palmerston North: Department, Massey University, 1993, p.27.

Besides their deep commitment to evangelism and 'godly lifestyle', the pioneer missionaries also possessed a deep humanitarian concern embedded within their commitment to a 'civilizing mission' and an unquestioning conviction of the superiority of Western culture. However this latter certainty was tempered in theory at least by the view that all of humankind was 'made in the image of God' and therefore possessed an equal dignity and the possibility of cultural improvement. This view, which Pat Maloney has described as the 'stadial view of societal development', held that this foundational unity of humanity did not mean that all members of the human family were at the same stage of development because, '[F]or various historical reasons, different cultures had advanced further along the path of civilization than others, and possessed a familial obligation to assist their less fortunate brothers and sisters to achieve that advanced level'.⁵⁴ Hence the missionary resolve towards the conversion of the Māori soul and their society – this latter exemplified in the words of Thomas Samuel Grace, a CMS missionary, '[W]herever the Gospel is preached civilization must follow'.⁵⁵

After initial resistance to missionary overtures, in the decade after 1830 the gospel enjoyed considerable 'success.' Historians are divided on the reasons. Harrison Wright talks about the impact of war-weariness following the acquisition of muskets from Europeans and the massive slaughter this caused.⁵⁶ John Owens writes about literacy as the Trojan horse that entered the Maori camp⁵⁷, while Judith Binney countered with her own Trojan horse theory: that of the promise of trade and a new prosperity, introduced in part by the missionaries.⁵⁸ Allan Davidson, on the other hand, claims they were attracted by both the medium and the message, citing the CMS missionary William

⁵⁴ Pat Maloney, 'Savagery and Civilization: Early Victorian Notions', in *New Zealand Journal of History*, cited by Hamish Dalley, in 'An Imperial Mission', BA (hons) History Thesis, University of Otago, 2005, p.6.

⁵⁵ Grace to Straith, 18 October 1861, cited by Dalley, p.6.

⁵⁶ H.M. Wright, *New Zealand, 1769 -1840: Early Years of Western Contact*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959, p.141.

⁵⁷ J.M.R.Owens, 'Christianity and the Maoris to 1840', in *New Zealand Journal of History*, April 1968, p.37.

⁵⁸ Judith Binney, 'Christianity and the Maoris to 1840: A Comment', in *New Zealand Journal of History*, October, 1969, p.152.

Yate, who said in a book published in 1835, that particularly in Polynesia, 'Every one now wishes to learn and read and write'.⁵⁹

The Treaty of Waitangi

The 1830s saw missionaries becoming more involved in local issues, the line between spiritual and temporal became blurred by the demands of the time. They were particularly concerned about intertribal warfare, dubious European influences such as alcohol, immorality, and the increasing demand for land by the new settlers. John Dunmore Lang, the first Presbyterian minister to visit NZ in 1839, concerned about the extensive alienation of Maori land, argued for '[A] Christian and energetic Government' to introduce law and order to protect Maori '[B]y placing itself, as it were, "between the living and the dead, that the plague may be stayed".⁶⁰ Britain, in his view, had '[N]o right whatever to occupy a single inch of the territory of NZ, except on such terms as its native inhabitants shall accede to'.⁶¹

The year 1840 became a pivotal one, with the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi on February 6. The missionaries, as will be seen, played a key role in the unfolding of the Treaty process. Peter Adams has noted the shift in the role of the missionaries in the field and the missionary societies back in Britain. He says, '[B]y 1839 humanitarian concern for the Maoris, whether opposed to colonization or not, had become an argument for official imperial expansion into New Zealand'.⁶² It seems at this time the missionaries' 'vision' for New Zealand underwent a transition. Until now there had been an expectation among many that the country could be administered through a confederation of Christian chiefs. Perhaps influenced by other Pacific examples, such as Tahiti, an autonomous, yet theocratically inclined indigenous polity was envisioned.

Dandeson Coates, the Lay Secretary of the CMS in London prior to Henry Venn, was acutely aware of the fundamental dilemmas of colonialism. His antagonism towards

⁵⁹ Yate, cited in Allan Davidson's, *Christianity in Aotearoa: A History of Church and Society in New Zealand*, Wellington: Education for Ministry, 1991.

⁶⁰ John Dunmore Laing, cited in Davidson, Footnote 9, p. 21.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Peter Adams, *Fatal Necessity*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1977, p.58.

groups like the commercially driven New Zealand Association and colonization in particular is clearly seen in his submission to the House of Lords Select Committee in 1838, who were considering the situation in NZ. He described to the Committee the New Zealand Association's plans to colonize New Zealand as "objectionable", because he felt that they would lead to the further degradation of Maori, and would interrupt or even defeat the benefits of the religious instruction that the missionaries were providing. Coates further claimed that NZ was '[A]n independent and sovereign State, and that no legislation passed in Britain could alter this fact'.⁶³ His recognition of the inherent dilemma within the role of the British government is further seen in the following, '[H]owever benevolent and disinterested the intentions of governments towards indigenous peoples there is an incompatibility between objects so prosecuted, and the exercise of coercive authority in the protection of them, which cannot be overcome'.⁶⁴ Despite Coates's clarity from the distance of London, many local missionaries found themselves drawn inexorably into an increasingly perplexing and complex situation. Their involvement in what can only be described as political activity was a response not only to the continued intertribal warfare, but also to what they perceived as the detrimental impact of European settlement in NZ, especially the New Zealand Company's scheme of planned migration.

Continued unrest in the 1830s, in the form of inter-hapū warfare, as well as unrelated problems with settlers, contributed to a change in their attitude. Therefore, against this unsettled backdrop, the New Zealand CMS Committee, in 1838 under the leadership of Henry Williams and George Clarke recommended, 'That the whole country be secured under the protection and guardian care of the British Government, for a number of years, with a Resident Governor and other Officers; with a military force to support their authority and insure obedience to all laws which may be enacted'.⁶⁵ Williams and

⁶³ Dandeson Coates, in *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords Appointed to Inquire into the Present State of the Islands of New Zealand and the Expediency of Regulating the Settlement of British Subjects therein*, cited in Paul Moon's, *The Path To The Treaty of Waitangi*, Auckland: David Ling, 2002, p.93.

⁶⁴ Dandeson Coates, *The Principles, Objects and Plan of the New Zealand Association Examined*, cited in Alan Ward's, *A Show of Justice: Racial 'Amalgamation' in Nineteenth Century New Zealand*, Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1974, p.28.

⁶⁵ Dandeson Coates, *Views of the CMS*, cited in Ward, p.28.

Clarke's perspective was echoed by other CMS missionaries in the field including Archdeacon Brown in Tauranga:

The tide of emigration is setting upon us with spring tide violence, and it will be well if the poor natives are not borne away in its restless course, The NZ Land Company are purchasing, not by acres, but by degrees of latitude....Much, however, of the threatened evil may yet, under God's blessing, be averted if the powers vested by the British Government in Captain Hobson (whose arrival in the Bay of Islands is, I understand, daily expected) are full and comprehensive. True, a large portion of New Zealand has been sold, but it does not, I conceive, necessarily follow because individual chiefs have, for a mere peppercorn consideration, parted with their patrimonial possessions, that therefore New Zealand as an independent nation has ceded sovereign rights. England is by profession, the guardian of this people...⁶⁶

The decision by the missionaries to back a greater involvement by the British Crown was no doubt linked to their general humanitarian concern but also by a motivation to create an environment that in their eyes would be more suitable to the proclamation of the gospel. In a letter to Bishop Selwyn at later time of upheaval Brown wrote:

I cannot but look with considerable anxiety at the Native question. In whatever way the present sad state of affairs may terminate a great hindrance has been thrown in the way of our work, for few things can be more detrimental than the present general excitement amongst the Natives to the progress of that glorious Gospel whose leading characteristic are love and peace.⁶⁷

Despite the call for greater involvement by the Crown, Brown like Dandeson, was in no doubt about the difficulty of the times ahead, when he stated that '[W]e will be... between the devil and the deep blue sea – in time the Government would require more land...to steer clear of giving offence "to the powers that be" and at the same time to sustain our character as Guardians of the Natives, will require much of the "wisdom which cometh from above"'.⁶⁸

Regardless of the motivations, a significant number of church leaders were at Waitangi on the 5th February when the ideas of the Treaty were first presented to the assembled

⁶⁶ Brown's Journal, December 30th 1839, cited in Alistair Reese, 'Te Papa: CMS's Naboth's Vineyard?', BA (hons) History Thesis, University of Waikato, 2005, p.16.

⁶⁷ Archdeacon Brown to Bishop Selwyn, 19 June 1860, cited in Noeline Hall's, *I Have Planted*, Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1981, p.204.

⁶⁸ Archdeacon Brown, cited in Noeline Edwards, 'Archdeacon Brown: Missionary', MA History Thesis, University of New Zealand, 1950, p.110.

chiefs. The CMS was represented by Henry Williams, Taylor, Colenso, Baker, King and Clarke and WMMS by Ironside and Warren, while Pompallier, who was generally unsupportive of the Treaty, led the Roman Catholic Church delegation.⁶⁹ Although there was some controversy in the early discussions prior to the signing, including accusations against Williams' inaccurate translation and missionary land holdings, the majority supported the missionaries' mediation of Hobson's intentions. Hone Heke, a leading chief, spoke of Māori as 'children' and the missionaries as 'fathers' who should decide 'what it should be'.⁷⁰ Patuone, requested Hobson, to 'sit, stay – thou, and the missionaries. And the word of God. Remain here with us, to be a father for us, that the French have us not, that Pikopo (Bishop Pompallier), that bad man, have us not'.⁷¹

The following day, the 6th February 1840, approximately 45 chiefs signed the Māori version of the Treaty. Both Māori and English texts were then taken around the island to obtain additional Māori signatures, though the English text was signed only by 39 *rangatira*. By the end of that year, over 500 Māori had signed the Treaty. Archdeacon Brown was one who responded to requests by Hobson to facilitate the signing of the document. 'Received communications from His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor wishing me to procure the signatures of any leading Chiefs in this neighbourhood, to the treaty which had been signed at Waitangi'.⁷² However, his reluctance over his involvement in areas outside his evangelistic and pastoral duties are reflected in the following, 'The Missionary has little to do with politics, but in the sifting time through which our people are passing a word spoken in season by the Missionaries has doubtless diminished the number of those who would have otherwise have been in arms against the Crown'.⁷³

Historian Claudia Orange, an acknowledged Treaty expert, has made two pertinent comments concerning the missionaries and the Treaty. 'Missionary influence' in

⁶⁹ Davidson, p.24.

⁷⁰ Davidson, p.20.

⁷¹ Davidson, p.21.

⁷² Archdeacon Brown's Journal, April 1 1840, Typescript Copy, Vol II, NZ Room, Tauranga Library.

⁷³ CMS 63rd Report, 1860-62, cited in Hall, p.204.

securing acceptance for the Treaty, 'was significant simply because many Maori trusted the missionaries' good intentions'.⁷⁴ She also states:

The role of the English missionary in determining Maori understanding, therefore, was crucial through the way explanations were given. It determined that Ngapuhi, in particular, would understand the treaty as a special kind of covenant with the Queen, a bond with all the spiritual connotations of the biblical covenants; there would be many tribes, including the British, but all would be equal under God.⁷⁵

This perception that the church was mediating a 'covenant' and the role that the missionaries played in convincing *rangatira* to sign the Treaty certainly has ramifications in terms of 'responsibility' for subsequent events, which will be returned to later.

1840 and Beyond

'When the missionaries came first they had two ploughs, one for heaven and one for earth – the one for heaven and one for earth – the one for heaven was kept going before our eyes, the other kept out of sight'.⁷⁶

The year 1840 was a watershed year, not only because it was politically a new era, but also because of the dramatic increase in settler numbers with their irresistible demand for land. Belich proposes that in 1840 there were only 2,000 Pākehā in NZ, and approximately 70,000 Māori; although other estimates nominate 200,000 Māori. However, it was not long before the demographic equation changed dramatically and the balance of power with it. Significantly this power shift meant that Māori were no longer free to negotiate their own understanding of the Treaty from a position of strength.

One controversial repercussion of the Treaty was, 'the right of pre-emption clause', whereby all land had to be sold via the Crown. Originally intended to protect *tangata whenua* from unscrupulous land deals, it soon created disillusionment for Māori. The government was able to sell land on at a large profit with dubious benefit to the

⁷⁴ Claudia Orange, *The Treaty of Waitangi*, cited in Davidson, p.25,

⁷⁵ Orange, cited in Davidson, p.25.

⁷⁶ Saying attributed to an unknown member of Ngāti Maniopotō, a Waikato tribe.

landowner and many chiefs resented the limitations of the new law. Finally, dissatisfaction with the new political reality erupted into war in 1844, involving original Waitangi signatory Hone Heke.

Although George Grey the newly arrived Governor, with his greater economic and military resources was able to quell the Northern War, the altercation signalled an escalation in the clash between British claims to sovereignty and Māori *rangatiratanga* (sovereignty). While some missionaries sought to continue their role of mediation between the Crown and Māori, others were caught in their own controversies over land. Grey claimed that some of the land purchases by the CMS missionaries, Henry Williams, Kemp, Clarke, Fairburn, King, Shepherd, Hamlin and Davis, contributed to the unrest in the North,⁷⁷ and Bishop Selwyn also voiced his concern at their holdings.⁷⁸ Ultimately, Henry Williams, Clarke, and Kemp were dismissed for their refusal to accept the CMS conditions on land holdings.⁷⁹ Williams' defence was that the land was necessary for his eleven children and that none of the land belonged to him.⁸⁰ He was later reinstated, but questions remain as to whether the considerable land holdings amassed by the Williams family was within the spirit of the CMS land allowance allotted to each missionary.⁸¹

These events, certainly contributed to a further breakdown in trust between missionary and Māori. In April 1840, the Rarawa chief, Nopera Panakareao, who was closely identified with the CMS, had stated at the signing of the Treaty, 'the shadow of the land will go to him (Governor), but the substance remains for us'.⁸² But a year later, circumstances convinced him that the reverse was true. In January 1841 he proclaimed, 'The substance of the land goes to the Pakeha, the shadow only will be our portion.'⁸³

⁷⁷ G.Grey to the Right Hon.W.E. Gladstone, Auckland, June 25, 1846, "Further papers relative to the affairs of New Zealand", *GBPP*, July 1849, cited in Davidson and Lineham, p. 61.

⁷⁸ Cited in Davidson, p,26.

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, p.27.

⁸⁰ Henry Williams to the Right Hon. Earl Grey [Colonial Secretary], Pahia, November 1 1848, "Further Papers to the affairs of New Zealand" *GBPP*, July 1849, cited in Davidson and Lineham, p. 62.

⁸¹ See Robert and Joanna Consedine, *Healing our History*, pp.80-81.

⁸² Ward, p. 44.

⁸³ Nopera Panakareao, cited in Tony Simpson's, *Te Riri Pakeha*, Auckland: Hodder and Stoughton, 1979, p.84.

However, this deterioration in the relationship between the missionaries and Māori, as disillusionment over the Treaty set in, was only the beginning. It was the next phase in the history of Māori-Pākehā encounter, variously known as the Māori Wars, the Land Wars and the New Zealand Wars, which proved critical. Arguably it is the fallout from this period that created the milieu of mutual suspicion and rupture that has characterized the relationship between Māori and the largely Pākehā church for the next century.

Land Wars And the Period post -1850

‘Are we in the middle of the nineteenth century to confess to the whole civilized world that our Christianity and our civilization have given to us no advantage over these people but that of a more scientific use of material force’?⁸⁴ Octavius Hatfield, CMS Missionary.

Two important issues dominated the relationship between the Crown and Māori and also exercised the church in the decades from 1850 to 1880 - the wars over land and *rangatiratanga* and the rise of *Kingitanga* (the King Movement), with its similar dual concern. The trigger point for the fighting between Māori and Crown troops was the determination of the government to purchase land from sub-chiefs of *hapū*, thus bypassing the traditional authority of *rangatira*. By the late 1850s, resistance among some Māori to land sales began to emerge. Pressure for land from the increasing numbers of new arrivals resulted in the government under Governor Gore Browne negotiating with the minor Te Ati Awa chief, Te Teira, against the express wishes of paramount chief Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitake, who refused to sell. The government nevertheless persisted by sending surveyors to the Taranaki block. Fighting eventually broke out and ignited a war that lasted in various localities for over a decade. Missionaries at the time were still operating as interlocutors between Māori, the Crown, and the new settlers - straddled between the two cultures, with divided sympathies and facing an increasing dilemma.

⁸⁴ Octavius Hadfield, *One of England's Little Wars: A Letter to the Right Honourable the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State for the Colonies*, Dunedin: Hocken Library, 1860; reprinted, 1967.

Land was not only a source of contention for *tangata whenua*, but also for the settlers who thought that the church was too much on the side of Māori. Although Bishop Selwyn and other missionaries were actively against the purchase of land by the New Zealand Company, they were not against land sales per se. The following extended quotation from a pastoral letter by Selwyn to members of the Church of England in Taranaki explains his stance:

It has always been my lot to be accused of opposing the interests of my own countrymen in the settlements of the New Zealand Company, by supporting the claims of the Native inhabitants. The root of all this appearance of opposition (for I deny that it was real) lay in the fact, that the agents of the New Zealand Company, while they recognised, by partial acts of purchase, the right of the Natives to the land, did not sufficiently investigate the titles, and therefore failed to extinguish them.If the purchases had been conducted with more deliberation, over small blocks of land, and with the consent of all the owners, there is reason to believe that the colonists would have remained undisturbed, ...[However] it is strange indeed, that your advisors in the local newspapers, who dwell so much upon the sixth commandment, should forget altogether that the same law has also said THOU SHALT NOT COVET.I offer to my countrymen my best assistance and influence with the Native people in all their just and lawful desires; *but I have no fellowship with covetousness, because Ahab found it to be but the first step in blood-guiltiness.*My advice to the Natives in all parts of New Zealand has always been, to sell all the land which they are not able to occupy or cultivate. I had two reasons for this: first, to avoid continual jealousies between the races; and secondly, to bring the native population within narrow limits, in order that religion, law, education, and civilization might be brought to bear more effectually upon them. It is strange to me to find myself accused of joining a “conspiracy” to hinder the sale of land; when not my opinion only, but my practical advice in all parts of New Zealand, has always been to the contrary⁸⁵ [italics mine].

This extract, as well as demonstrating Selwyn’s ‘civilizing’ goals and hinting at his sovereignty perspective, also demonstrates his ethical concerns over unjust land purchases with a reference to King Ahab’s violent recourse to secure Naboth’s vineyard, a theme I shall return to later.

Historians have debated whether the wars were ultimately over sovereignty or land. However, most acknowledge the almost united voice of the church against the

⁸⁵ Bishop Selwyn in ‘Extracts of Letters from New Zealand on the War Question, London, 1861, cited in Davidson and Lineham, pp.117-118.

government's initial incursion into the Taranaki region and have linked it to the humanitarian ethos of nineteenth century evangelicalism. Although some, including Belich and Kerry Howe, have seen the CMS antagonism towards the Taranaki war as no more than a temporary exception to the general rule of missionary complicity in imperial expansion.⁸⁶ Nevertheless, the rise of *Kingitanga* around this time does seem to mark a change within the missionary attitude. Anglican church historian, Earle Howe, is one who suggests that this period signalled a major shift in missionary allegiance and perspective. He concludes that 'despite their intellectual sympathies, personal courage, practical and sacrificial efforts, and their enlightened humanitarian attitudes, Philo-Maori⁸⁷ were unable to succeed in their pursuit of a society where both races could live together harmoniously, because of their ethnocentric and monocultural mindset'.⁸⁸ Other scholars, including John Stenhouse and Hamish Dalley, refute the thesis of a 'changed position', although for different reasons to Belich and Howe.⁸⁹ As Hamish Dalley argues:

Selwyn and many others, though not all CMS missionaries, didn't really change their fundamental views at all, even though their outward position changed. These English expatriates, held the government largely responsible for disrupting peaceful racial amalgamation by starting the Taranaki war, but held militant Kingites blameworthy for disrupting the amalgamation process during the Waikato war...[and] they opposed the war not out of some naïve sentiment, but rather for specific reasons that centred on their mission in New Zealand. They opposed the government because the government stood in the way of their Christianisation project.⁹⁰

⁸⁶ See Claudia Orange, *Treaty of Waitangi*, p.153; Alan Ward, *A Show of Justice*, p.121 ; Keith Sinclair, *Origins*, pp.218-221; Hamish Dalley, *An Imperial Mission*, p.19; James Belich, *Making Peoples*, p.230; *The New Zealand Wars*, p.328; Kerry Howe, *Race Relations, Australia and New Zealand: A Comparative Survey 1770s-1970s*, pp.39-40 and "'The Bishop Alien": Selwyn and the New Zealand Wars' in Warren E. Limbrick's (ed), *Bishop Selwyn in New Zealand 1841 -68*, pp. 94-121.

⁸⁷ 'The term Philo-Maori (Maori lover) was applied, usually in a negative vein, in newspaper articles, in political life, in letters, by those who were annoyed at what they saw as humanitarian interference in the process of colonisation, particularly the acquisition of land by settlers from Maori'. Definition by Earle Howe in *Caught in the Crossfire: A Revisionist Approach to Philo-Maori in New Zealand History, 1850 - 1870*, Anglican Historical Society, Occasional Papers, No.4, 2000, p.1.

⁸⁸ Howe, p.1.

⁸⁹ John Stenhouse, 'Religion, Politics, and the New Zealand Wars 1860 -1872', in Rex Adhar and John Stenhouse's (eds), *God and Government: The New Zealand Experience*, Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2000 and Hamish Dalley, 'An Imperial Mission: Colonization and the Church Missionary Society and The New Zealand Wars 1860-72, BA (hons) Thesis, University of Otago, 2005.

⁹⁰ Andrew Porter, cited in Dalley, p.20.

'Changed position' or not, a general unease over the King Movement amongst settlers and the church soon developed into a position of clear opposition. John Morgan, for example, a CMS missionary stationed within Kingitanga territory, regularly wrote to Grey outlining his perception of the movement as a threat. 'The time has arrived when the natives as a body must be made to feel that the Govt. will have the upper hand, that they are subjects and not Rulers. If it should become necessary to act I strongly recommend the Govt. to do so with decision'.⁹¹ The strength of opposition towards *Kingitanga* as expressed by Morgan and other CMS missionaries such as Brown and William Williams is somewhat surprising given the Christian inspiration behind the movement through the influence of one of Brown's protégées, Wiremu Tamihana Tarapipi Te Waharoa. A letter by Tamihana to Governor Grey in 1861 outlines some of his thoughts:

When you first came the river of blood was still open, and I therefore sought for some thought to cause it to cease, as the ministers (of the gospel) had long persevered. I considered how this blood could be made to diminish in this Island. I looked into your books, where Israel cried to have a king for themselves to be a judge over them and I looked at the word of Moses in Deuteronomy...and I kept these words in my memory through all the years; the land feuds continuing all the time, and blood still being spilt, I still meditating upon the matter....This is why I set up Potatau in the year 1857....I do not desire to cast the Queen from this island, but, from my piece. I am to be the person to overlook my piece. Enough.⁹²

In July 1863, Grey ordered the invasion of the Waikato. The resultant wars in both the Waikato and the Bay of Plenty, together with the confiscation of thousands of acres of Maori land, had a devastating impact upon Māori. It also caused a fissure in the relationship of trust between missionaries and Māori, a bond which had been under strain for some time. The overall Māori consensus was that they had been betrayed by the church during their confrontations with the government, and men like Selwyn were seen now by Maori as supporters of the government. The dilemma of Selwyn for example is almost palpable. Despite his attempts to minister to both sides of the conflict, his chaplaincy service to the government forces cost him dearly in his relationship with Māori:

⁹¹ John Morgan, cited in Davidson and Lineham, p.124.

⁹² Wiremu Tamihana to the Governor, Ngaruawahia, 7 June 1861, *AJHR*, 1861, E-1B, cited in Davidson and Lineham, p.127.

Oh! How other things might have changed! How much the buoyancy of hope has been sobered down by experience! When, instead of a nation of believers welcoming me as their father, I find here and there a few scattered sheep, the remnant of a flock which has forsaken the shepherd.....But what are my sorrows compared to the Bishop of Waiapu, who had completed his quarter of a century at Poverty Bay....and then all was broken up in a moment – not a portion of his work, as my Maori duties are.⁹³

After the Wars

The devastation wrought upon the churches as a result of the conflagrations is evident not only from Selwyn's testimony but similar reports were common throughout the country. Many mission stations were abandoned and the church found it increasingly difficult to rebuild. One of the most obvious indications of the resultant antagonism towards the Pākehā churches was the growth of independent Māori religious and prophetic movements, such as Paimarie and Hauhauism. These eclectic mixes of indigenous and Christian cosmologies and language attracted large followings, usually centred on the charismatic teachings of Māori visionary leaders.

In a state of despondency, the CMS missionaries in June 1866 considered withdrawal from the mission to New Zealand. Robert Burrows, the secretary at a Society meeting recorded: 'The painful fact that the great majority of the Natives have entirely put aside Christianity as taught them by the Scriptures and have either embraced Hauhauism or are living without any religious service whatever, was one that no member of the Conference wished to discuss'.⁹⁴ However, Selwyn was against the sudden 'Euthanasia' of the New Zealand mission and argued that '[T]he Parent must first provide for his children; assigning portions to those who are in infancy'.⁹⁵ By this Selwyn meant that the CMS needed to cooperate with the General Synod to provide for Māori mission, especially the education for Māori children and the supervision of 'Native

⁹³ Bishop Selwyn, cited in Davidson and Lineham, p. 130.

⁹⁴ W.P.Morrell, *The Anglican Church in New Zealand*, Dunedin 1973, in Davidson and Lineham, p.139.

⁹⁵ Bishop Selwyn, Alexander Turnbull Library, micr.coll. 4 reel 42, CMS Archives, C/N/04, "Remarks & of the Bishop of N. Zealand upon Extracts of Parent Com'ees Letter & upon Resolutions of Conference", in Minutes of Special Conference of Missionaries held at Auckland June 22 1866, cited in Davidson and Lineham, p.142.

Clergy'.⁹⁶ Although some CMS missionaries such as T.S. Grace remained committed to evangelistic mission amongst Māori, the church as a whole had largely left behind its missionary orientation and was concentrating on the needs of the growing settler community.

In 1882, the Society finally declared its intention to leave its 'Maori children to the Care of the English Bishops, with the happy consciousness that by God's good blessing its work will then be done'.⁹⁷ This was in effect, an implicit endorsement of the assimilationist approach generally propounded in government circles. A policy founded on the premise that the best course for Māori, lay in their Europeanization and absorption into that culture through intermarriage. Many felt that the complete demise of Māori as a race was only a matter of time, especially given high death rates from the new strains of influenza. After the CMS decision to withdraw, a Mission Trust Board was established by the Anglican General Synod on which all the North Island dioceses were represented. There were no Māori members and attempts to ensure Māori involvement at diocesan synods at the 1892 and 1895 meetings of General Synod were rejected, although the Waiapu Synod, with its majority Māori demographic made provision for representation in 1898.⁹⁸

After the departure of the CMS, the Anglican Church struggled in its organisation of its Maori work. The Māori Mission Board established in 1904 was abolished in 1913 because of ambivalence to the mission from some dioceses. However, the emergence of the Ratana Church, an indigenous movement led by the politically astute and charismatic healer T.W.Ratana, led to the defection of many Māori Anglicans. This persuaded the 1925 General Synod to appoint a Commission to reconsider Māori "self-expression" and representation in the church. Ultimately a Māori diocese of Aotearoa was created in December 1925 and the influential MP, Apirana Ngata, a lay Anglican, urged the appointment of a Māori bishop. But opposition from the Archbishop of

⁹⁶ Davidson and Lineham, p.141.

⁹⁷ Extract from the CMS Annual Report, 1882, quoted in *Proceedings of the Synod of the Diocese of Waiapu*, 1883, cited in Davidson and Lineham, p.147.

⁹⁸ Davidson and Lineham, pp.139 -140.

Canterbury delayed any decision and it was not until 1928 that a compromise was reached, with the appointment of F.A. Bennett as the first suffragan (assistant) Bishop of Aotearoa in 1928. As a suffragan, Bennet had a restricted authority, dependent upon the goodwill of the Pākehā bishops, a goodwill that was at times less than forthcoming. In 1964, the Bishop of Aotearoa was given a full seat on General Synod, and in 1972 the Bishopric of Aotearoa was constituted, although the bishop remained a suffragan of the Bishop of Waiapu. In 1978, the General Synod established Te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa, (the Bishopric of Aotearoa), complete with its own council – finally, the equality sought in 1925 had been achieved.⁹⁹

As I have stated, prior to the Waikato War, the missionary church operated as a strong prophetic voice that served to temper both the land ambitions of the new settlers and the newly established New Zealand government. They had negotiated the Treaty of Waitangi with a Māori population who trusted their guidance into the new order, and had spoken out against Government policy over the use of force in Taranaki. Neither is it that Māori considered their status under the Treaty to be a wholly negative experience. In 1879, for example, an assembly of northern chiefs, hosted by the Ngāti Whatua leader Paora Tuhaere debated the ‘*ora*’ and the ‘*mate*’ (good and the bad) of the Treaty relationship. One speaker was reported as saying: ‘It is through the good influence of that Treaty, that we are able to assemble in this house today and discuss our grievances freely, and that we are protected from attack by people of foreign lands....Secondly, it was through that Treaty that the wars between the Native tribes ceased’.¹⁰⁰ The meeting went on nevertheless to list a catalogue of grievances that included the alienation of land, the loss of fishing rights, and the failure of the Crown to consult with Māori.¹⁰¹ It is this list of grievances, and especially the alienation of land that has remained a stumbling block for Māori and has emerged as a dominant theme within postcolonial discourse. The church for its part except for a few solitary expressions fell silent to these grievances with most social concern being concentrated

⁹⁹ Davidson and Lineham, pp.166-7.

¹⁰⁰ *AJHR*, 1879, session 2, g-8, cited in Alan Ward’s *National Overview*, Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal Rangahaua Whanui Series, 1997, p.4.

¹⁰¹ *Overview*, p.4.

on moral issues such as alcohol consumption. Between 1840, the time of the Treaty signing and 1940, Māori lost control of almost ninety per cent of their land. It is to this loss and the resultant response by the church that we now turn.

Chapter Four: The Land and the Loss of 'Naboth's vineyard'¹⁰²

'The Natives were keenly averse to selling and it was impossible to purchase by assembled meetings, and therefore individual purchase had to be adopted'.¹⁰³

Memorandum to Native Minister

'The land, always the land. The Maori people possessed it, but the white man has always lusted for it.'¹⁰⁴ Witi Ihimaera

In all cultures land is considered as significant; but within the western Enlightenment framework, even within Christian circles, land is defined as 'material' or within the realm of the secular. Ownership may be seen as part of divine providence related to economic prosperity, but not in itself a sacred matter. The Māori worldview, on the other hand, sees land within another paradigm that minimizes the sacred-secular bifurcation. The relationship of Māori to their land then is highly complex, but it is clear that the loss of this land as well as having considerable economic ramifications impacted significantly on the whole cultural and spiritual balance with their communities.

As stated previously, land was needed for settlement by new immigrants and the manner of settlement was almost entirely dictated by the Crown and the settlers' demands. The scale and pace of the acquisitions is not always appreciated. By 1865, the Crown had purchased almost all the 34 million acres of the South Island, and also approximately seven million acres of the North Island. Under the Native Lands Act some eight million acres were acquired between 1865 and 1890, and a further three million acres by 1899. Despite the clear plight of an increasingly landless and disenfranchised Māori community, the Crown continued with its land purchasing programmes into the early twentieth century. Even in districts already too crowded to support reasonable living standards, the land purchase process was unrelenting. Between 1900 and 1930, mostly under the Native Land Act 1909, a further four million acres was purchased. When in 1928, sales finally slowed and MP Apirana Ngata had at last received funds for

¹⁰² See Appendix, pp.55-57, Maps detailing Māori Land Loss.

¹⁰³ Memorandum to the Native Minister, 23 March 1921, cited in Frontpiece of *Overview*.

¹⁰⁴ Witi Ihimaera, *The Matriarch*, Auckland: Heinemann, 1986, p.238.

serious land development, by and large for Māori it was too late; very little land suitable for development was left. This marginalisation contributed to the urban migration which began at the start of the Second World War, which in turn contributed to the challenges of an increasingly dispossessed society.¹⁰⁵

The church was also not free from controversy over the issue of land alienation. I have already referred to the contentious issues over Henry Williams and other CMS missionaries' personal land holdings. But a more serious situation surrounds the purchase by the CMS of 1333 acres of prime land from *tangata whenua* in the Tauranga region. The land was obtained as a site for a mission station and ostensibly held in trust as a 'land bank' against the growing demands of the Crown and new settlers. Correspondence by Henry Venn, the CMS Secretary in London regarding the Te Papa block demonstrates this, 'The Society has never deviated from its public professions that it holds the land given to the Socy. by the Natives as a Trust for their benefit, &, it will continue to hold it for better or for worse, until such time as it may be best appropriated to the management & benefit of the Native church'.¹⁰⁶ A year later Venn wrote again referring to Te Papa:

That land was acquired and is retained under a solemn Trust that it should be applied to the benefit of the Native race and Church and that it should never be bartered or sold for the mere purpose of raising money. The Natives who gave the land for the benefit of themselves and their posterity would have just ground of complaint against us if we sold that land for a Military Settlement. We have therefore declined all offers. If the Government need the land for public purposes they may take it from us, but we shall then claim compensation.¹⁰⁷

Despite these assurances, in 1867, following the Tauranga wars, four-fifths of the land was gifted by the Society to the government, and one-fifth retained for its own use. It was then subdivided and many of the sections were given to British soldiers as reward

¹⁰⁵ *Overview*, Volume 1.

¹⁰⁶ Venn to William Williams, 26 November 1864, Williams Family Papers, f.45, ATL, cited in Vincent O'Malley's *The Te Papa Block: A History of Church Missionary Society and Crown Dealings, 1838-1867*, Wellington: Crown Forestry Rental Trust, 1996, p.72.

¹⁰⁷ Venn to Rev.S. Comperts, 1 September 1865, CMS Home Letterbook 1864 -66, C.H./L 16, Micro-MS-Coll-04-067, ATL, cited in O'Malley, p.81.

for their service in the Waikato wars. This betrayal of trust by the CMS remains a source of contention for many Māori within the Tauranga region to the present day.¹⁰⁸

Response to Alienation

According to Alan Ward, whenever Māori were able to exercise collective control over land alienation at the tribal level, land sales slowed markedly. Also the tribal leadership was generally willing to admit settlement within defined areas over which they did not relinquish their rights, maintaining their identity concepts of *mana whenua* (authority) and *rangatiratanga*. The settlers however, with the Crown's support, invariably responded by finding ways to overcome, or undermine tribal control in order to extinguish Maori customary title and secure freehold control. Māori often responded to these tactics by the use of force, as well as non-violent disruptive actions and other strategies to counter the advancing surveying parties and to signal their disapproval of settler incursions.¹⁰⁹

Another reaction, however, was a more internalized one. As stated earlier, to Māori, land was spiritual and not only a temporal reality, and as Bronwyn Elsmore states, 'The Maori emotional response to land (like the Hebrew one) must be recognised as a religious response'.¹¹⁰ She then draws the parallel between the Hebrew relationship to the 'promised land' and that of Māori. 'As the land of Canaan was that promised to the children of Israel by Yahweh...In both cases, then, the alienation of land was not merely a political issue, but a religious one'.¹¹¹ Significantly, despite their disillusionment with the Pākehā church, Māori did not completely reject the new religion. For as David Gunn has highlighted, although the Bible has been used to justify the agenda of western imperialism it has also been utilised as an ideology of liberation amongst Māori, as evidenced in the teachings of Te Ua Haumene, Te Whiti, Te Kooti, Rua Kenana of

¹⁰⁸ Alistair Reese, *Te Papa, CMS's Naboth's Vineyard?*, BA (hons) History Thesis, University of Massey, 2005.

¹⁰⁹ *Overview*, p.6

¹¹⁰ Bronwyn Elsmore, *Like Them That Dream: The Māori and the Old Testament*, Tauranga: Moana Press, 1984, p.82.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

Maungapohatu and Hakaria of Te Puke.¹¹² An echo of their themes is still heard in Bishop Vercoe's 1990 speech at Waitangi in which he referred to the Hebrew response to their exile in Psalm 137, a quotation that was used to commence this study.

Other scholars such as J.D.Y. Peel have highlighted the place that indigenous cultures, such as the Yoruba from Africa, have accorded Scripture.¹¹³ He points to the use of the Bible as a source of narrative, whereby it became, '[T]heir supreme paradigmatic history, through which they recognised new situations and even their own actions'. He points out that these narratives were used, '[T]o console as well as inspire' and not only to identify themselves, '[B]ut also the Other, in the narratives of the Bible'.¹¹⁴ He has also suggested that the Yoruba Christians, '[W]ere even more saturated with Biblical language and imagery than Europeans', as they fashioned new narratives for themselves by representing their present, (and by implication their future) situation by analogous use of Scripture.¹¹⁵ In a not dissimilar way, Māori used biblical language to express their situation vis a vis the loss of the land. Specifically for our purposes, the 1 Kings 21 passage about Naboth's vineyard became 'a paradigmatic narrative' that not only 'identified' their own situation but in the characters of Ahab and Jezebel was used to identify 'the Other', this 'other' was Pākehā, who used their numerical, military, and political advantage to deprive them from their inheritance.

Naboth's Vineyard

The name of the woman taken in adultery was Herita.

The blind man whose eyes were anointed with clay was Tapaineho.

The fig tree that was cursed was Hiona.

Naboth's vineyard belonged to Tanupera

The woman whose case was the commencement of Solomon's

Wisdom were Hanutu the mother of the living and Perira the mother of the child.

The woman who anointed Christ's feet with oil was Ripini

¹¹² David M. Gunn, 'Colonialism and the Vagaries of Scripture: Te Kooti in Canaan', in Tod Linafelt and Timothy K. Beal's, *God in the Fray: A Tribute to Walter Brueggeman*, Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1998, p.129.

¹¹³ J.D.Y. Peel, 'For Who Hath Despised the Day of Small Things? Missionary Narratives and Historical Anthropology', in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol.37, No.3, July 1995, pp.581-607.

¹¹⁴ Peel, p.595.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

The name of the paralytic who was let down through the roof of the house was Keremete
The blind man brought unto Jesus by Hepama was Pairoruku
The young man whom Jesus told to give all his goods unto the poor was Heretiera
The one who went into a far country was Arepoura.¹¹⁶ [*italics mine*]

Although it was not until 1868 that a one-volume edition of the Bible in Māori was published, other sections had been released as early as 1837. In 1840, the WMMS published *He Korero Kohikohi enei no te Kawenata Tawhito* (A Collection of the Old Testament), which included 1 and 2 Kings with the Naboth's vineyard narrative. Not only were the Scriptures printed, but they were published in large numbers to meet a growing demand, for example 11,000 copies of the Psalms and 10,000 copies of the chapters of Daniel and Jonah were also released in 1840.¹¹⁷ As well as the written word, Māori were exposed to the public reading of Scripture by missionaries capable of preaching in the indigenous tongue. This exposure to both the oral and written texts, to an increasingly literate people enabled biblical motifs to become embedded into the indigenous discourse – an outcome that did not please all. For ironically, despite the eagerness of the mission organisations to translate the Scriptures, not all were satisfied that the Bible was a profitable tool in the hands of Māori, for as one settler wrote, 'We do not deny the use or advantage of such monitors [missionaries]; but when we find the natives taking up their teachings and describing us as 'Ahabs', and themselves as 'Naboths', we fear the effect of the seed they sow...'¹¹⁸

The historian Angus Harrop, records that in 1855, the then new Governor, Gore Browne, as part of his summary of the situation in Taranaki, 'criticized the action of [W. Turton](#), a Wesleyan missionary whose letters to the newspapers had aroused the Maori suspicions that the Europeans would not rest until they had "slain and taken possession of" that which the Maoris likened to Naboth's vineyard'.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶ A poem written by Te Kooti, 1868, Māori liberation fighter and prophet, Turnbull Library translation of longhand text from a Chatham Islands notebook. Cited in Ross, *Te Kooti*, Auckland: Collins, 1996, p.142.

¹¹⁷ Bronwyn Elsmore, *Mana from Heaven*, Auckland: Moana Press, 1989, p.13.

¹¹⁸ Mr. Wilson, *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, Want of Confidence Debate, July 3, 1861, 115-16.

¹¹⁹ Harrop, p.30.

I have already referred to Bishop Selwyn's Pastoral letter of 1860, in which he described the New Zealand situation as analogous to Naboth's vineyard, in which he rebuked Taranaki settlers over their covetous greed for Māori land. The motif also figured in the correspondence of Archdeacon Brown and Bishop William Williams. These two were concerned about the government's intentions over the CMS Te Papa block at Tauranga, described earlier. During the negotiations with the government over the land, Alfred Brown, the resident Tauranga missionary, wrote to the Reverend Robert Burrows, the CMS Land Board Secretary in Auckland, 'I shall not at present take up the trouble of supposing that the Government will possess Te Papa to the exclusion of the Mission Station. Their Bill is not yet law, and there may be more obstacles than they anticipate to their occupancy of Naboth's Vineyard'.¹²⁰ This was a clear reference to the parallel between the possible alienation of the Tauranga land and Ahab's forceful seizure of Naboth's vineyard. Brown's bishop, William Williams discussing the same possibility in a letter to Brown in 1864, wrote: 'It is quite possible that Te Papa may cease to be a missionary station, it is indeed probable because it happens to be Naboth's vineyard'.¹²¹

However, reference to Naboth's vineyard was not restricted to the missionaries and became a prominent theme among Māori. The comments of Wiremu Tamihana were reported by the Wesleyan missionary Thomas Buddle. Tamihana, speaking at a *Kingitanga* meeting in April 1860, which was discussing the possibility of taking a war party to Taranaki objected to the plan on the basis of Scripture. 'Let me see that it is right first, for I read of Naboth's vineyard that was unrighteously seized by Jezebel, and God avenged the wrong. I read of many of the Kings of Israel who met with judgment and death by engaging in unrighteous wars. Therefore I say search out the truth. Don't make haste, lest you fall into error. I do not pronounce on the conduct of the Governor at present, for I am not informed...'¹²²

¹²⁰ Brown to Burrows, cited in W.H.Gifford and H.B.Williams', *A Centennial History of Tauranga*, Dunedin: AH and AW Reed, 1940, pp.254-255.

¹²¹ Williams to Brown, 17 May, Brown Papers, f.53, Microfilm, New Zealand Room, Tauranga Library, cited in Reese, p.39.

¹²² Wiremu Tamihana, cited in *The New Zealand Wars*, <http://www.nzetc.org/tm/scholarly/tei-BudMaor-t1-body-d3.html>, accessed 20/11/2006.

The nineteenth century English public servant and chronicler G.E.Rusden, who resided in New Zealand for several years, was one of the few to take up the cause of Māori in his book *Aureretanga: The Groan of the Maoris*. Rusden highlighted different themes of concern to Māori, including land alienation. One of his accounts relates to a struggle by a South Island tribe to secure a reserve that to their minds had been fraudulently taken from them by the Dunedin County Council. He stated, 'One more instance of denial of justice in the Middle Island [South Island] must suffice for these pages, which will not hold a thousandth part of those which are calculated to cause groans to the Maoris. A few large cases find their way into Courts and Parliaments. Unnumbered cases which involve the misery of the poor are usually unrecorded'.¹²³ Rusden then describes how in June 1855, Mr.Cargill, Superintendent of the Otago Province, 'utilised' his position to obtain Māori reserve land in Dunedin for the use of the city. The legal case that followed, presents a cogent example of the bureaucratic opposition encountered by Māori to secure their own land. Rusden reports:

It was not unnatural that the Maoris should think the Native Lands Court the proper tribunal to resort to, with regard to their land [they were declined there and referred to the Supreme Court]; but they are not the only persons who have formed erroneous notions as to the redress obtainable in a court of law. They did not understand the law, but they knew something about equity and about human nature. They collected, as best they could, funds with which to sustain their cause; and the account was called "The Naboth's Vineyard Account".¹²⁴

Another South Island example of the biblical motif is found in March 1874. The Ngai Tahu (the largest South Island tribe) chiefs held a meeting of 300 people at Kaiapoi near Christchurch. The *hui* (meeting) sent a petition to Parliament restating a previous claim for land that they felt had been unjustly alienated, some several years had elapsed between their first petition and this one:

You may perhaps say to us, 'If all you say is true, how is that you remained silent till now?' Why, you well know that we are not like you – quick in the race of mental attainments; we are lagging far behind in these things. When these land transactions took place our chiefs were scarcely able to read written language;

¹²³ G.W. Rusden, *Aureretanga: The Groans of the Maoris*, London: William Ridgeway, 1888, p.67.

¹²⁴ Rusden, p. 79.

they were often too ready to consent their names to be signed under writings the contents which were either in part or totally absent from their minds. Judge for yourselves, honourable members of Parliament who listen to our complaints in this petition: Had the eyes of our chiefs been open in those days, would they have consented to part with all the heritage that God has given to them and their future offspring and descendants – all this vast territory – for the crumbs that fell from the white man’s table – for this £2,000 odd? The daylight was slow in dawning upon us. It is only after one of our race entered Parliament that we became acquainted, little by little, with the ways by which the white man’s land purchases beguiled the whole Island from us. What these land-purchasers said to our elders who ceded the land is indelibly written in their and their children’s minds, but this writing does not correspond to those of Mr. Kemp in his deed. Nevertheless we are dispossessed of all the land. Is it because we are so few and powerless? *No doubt, had Naboth been stronger, Jezebel would not have glorified over his vineyard?*The condition of the Maoris of Te Wai Pounamu [South Island] is bad. As long as we have strength to work as servants of the Europeans, as long as the market is accepting that servitude, we are keeping ourselves and families above want. Should this strength and the market fail – and the time will come that it will – then we Maoris will be little better than a mass of paupers thrown upon the present lords of the land. The burden of our petition is that the white man has grasped at our fifty millions of acres in Te Wai Pounamu without any equitable return or provision for the Maori. We are debating, before you, the honourable members of Parliament, the wrongs we suffer, relying firmly upon your honour and love and fair play for you to redress them, and take under your protection the semi-paupers and orphans of Te Wai Pounamu’.¹²⁵ [italics mine]

The Māori newspapers of the day also featured references to Naboth’s vineyard; some of them were articles dedicated to biblical teaching,¹²⁶ while others reflected the political concerns of the day and used the motif as an analogy of injustice and as a warning of possible judgement. For example, a letter published in *Te Tiupiri (The Jubilee)* in July 1899 stated:

Greetings to you friend in the name of the Lord, and to all of your committee, may God take care of you. Glory to God, my friend Walter [editor of The Jubilee], could you please publish these words in the Jubilee, who will then spread them to friends on marae throughout the islands of Aotearoa and the South Island. Friends who read and who listen to its contents, greetings to you in the name of the Lord, in the love of the Lord, he who brings us all closer together, and so my friends here are

¹²⁵ *AJHR* 1876, G-7, Ngai Tahu Petition 25 March, 1874; also in *AJHR* 1888 I-8, cited in C.Evison’s *Te Wai Pounamu*, Christchurch: Aoraki Press, 1993, pp.438 -9.

¹²⁶ For example, The Anglican Māori Newspaper: *Te Pipiwharauoa: He Kupu Whakamarama*, No. 132. http://nzdl.org/cgi-bin/library?gg=_cgiarggg_&e=q-00000--00---Oniupera--00-0...10/01/2007.

my thoughts to illustrate and explain to the tribes, the sub-tribes, the dialects, and the learned, to give them the opportunity to consider with their hearts, to look at with their own eyes, the robbery that these present legislations perpetrate on the people of Aotearoa and of the South, in relation to the Prime Minister's two Bills and the amendment at Papawai....Just look at the outline of that Bill, it is not a reservation, it actually removes Māori authority over Māori lands and gives the government the authority to sell, lease or mortgage Māori lands to new settlers in New Zealand. It also breaches the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi...[we] recommend return of those lands to Māori as well the authority to administer their own lands, which is in line with the words of the petition to the Queen and to also remove the authority of its laws over the lands it holds....Ananias and his wife were killed as the people who stole the land, *Ahab also stole Naboth's Vineyard on the word of Jezebel, and Naboth was killed so Ahab could take his land, Jezebel was then killed in punishment for the alienation of Naboth's inheritance, and that was that.*¹²⁷ [italics mine]

The above references demonstrate the extent to which the analogy of Naboth's vineyard had entered into the discourse of the new colony. The 'indigenizing' of this account, carries the tacit proclamation that the alienation of Māori land was a deliberate misuse of power, not only by the Crown but also by the church. This contextualization of the King's story displays not only a biblical familiarity and dexterity, but more significantly the use of this narrative, especially by Māori, with its prophetic disapproval and judgement of Ahab and Jezebel, should have alerted the church to a situation of divine concern

Church Response

Despite the already mentioned protestations by Bishop Selwyn and other missionaries in the 1850s; after the rise of *Kingitanga* and the invasion of the Waikato, opposition to large scale alienation was extremely muted. This lack of response as well as being attributable to a revised political position by the missionaries was the result of a combination of factors. These included the natural ageing of the pioneer missionaries, the disruption caused to their missions by the wars, the decrease in their influence with

¹²⁷ *Te Tiupiri (The Jubilee)*, http://nzdl.org/cgi-bin/library?gg=_cgiarggg_&e=q-00000--00---Oniupera--00-0...10/01/2007. Translated by Alistair Reese and Joeliee Seed-Pihama

government figures and the gradual merging of the mission arm of the church into an increasingly dominant settler church – an institution that generally reflected the overall ethos of the new immigrants.

Hugh Kempster, an Anglican church historian, has examined the response of the church to the invasion of Parihaka and the consequent loss of Māori land in the 1880s. This Taranaki community founded on a Christian inspired vision of non-violence has been called, 'The most notable religious movement directly associated with the confiscation and alienation of Māori land...'¹²⁸ In this paper Kempster highlights the lack of response by the church to the now well documented travesty of justice that took place there. In stark contrast to the earlier outcry at the beginning of the Taranaki war, now thirty years later there was minimal reaction. A few within Parliament, such as William Rolleston and F. Whittaker expressed opposition, but '[O]verall it was fainthearted and ineffectual. Most critical comment of the time came from concerned humanitarians overseas'.¹²⁹ With a sense of irony, Kempster relates a poem that appeared at the time in *The New Zealand Free Methodist* in November 1881 entitled 'Flies':

We are all familiar with the common-house-fly, perhaps not all so familiar with the facts of its introduction to New Zealand, and the war of extermination waged by it against the Maori fly. The mournful words of a well-known Maori song run:-

As the Pakeha fly has driven out the Maori fly;
As the Pakeha grass has killed the Maori grass;
As the Pakeha rat has slain the Maori rat;
As the Pakeha clover has starved the Maori fern;
So will the Pakeha destroy the Maori.

...the English fly has found its way to New Zealand, and – Tis a question, after all, of 'the survival of the fittest', and so the poor Maori fly cries *peccavi* and all is over.¹³⁰

Although Kempster's analysis refers to only one specific example of land alienation it is consistent with a church mindset that had largely lost empathy with indigenous

¹²⁸ A.K.Davidson, cited in Kempster, 'A Loud Silence: The Church Response to Parihaka', Unpublished Paper, 1992, p.3.

¹²⁹ Kempster, p.21.

¹³⁰ *The Free Methodist*, Nov 1881, p. 182, cited in Kempster p.26.

concerns. It seems that its main preoccupation at the time was the effect on their own progress, that is, how numbers were impacted by the 'troubles'. A Methodist newspaper reported in 1881, 'Spiritually we are not as prosperous as we could desire. Numerically we are about the same'.¹³¹ The President's address to the Anglican Synod in December 1882 is recorded by *The Anglican Church Gazette* and displays a concern to see the Church restored. However, even in his declaration of 'love' there is no hint of understanding for the reasons for the disaffection of Māori.

I have much hope that the reconciliation that has been effected between the Government and the Maories (sic) of the Southern Waikato and the West Coast districts of the Diocese, will soon result in a restoration of the Church of many who were alienated from us by the political troubles of former years. Partly with a view to such restoration, I have appointed the Rev.F.T.Baker to the charge of the Waitara district; where he will find full scope for the exercise of all his energies, for the utilising of his knowledge of the Maori language, and for giving practical effort to his love for their race.¹³²

The 'silence' is not, as Kempster has pointed out, because the church had no interest in the social affairs of late nineteenth century New Zealand. It was vitally involved in the debate around the secular clause in the 1877 Education Act and there was also a strong 'political' will amongst the churches preoccupied with Prohibition between 1880 and 1920.¹³³ Allan Davidson contends that Christians in colonial New Zealand were more '[C]oncerned about the shaping of the moral and social order so that it would reflect their own understanding of what society should be like'.¹³⁴ However he maintains their '[V]ision of society was often limited by their concerns for private and public morality and a narrow sectarianism'.¹³⁵ He concludes that '[I]t is questionable whether the churches made many direct beneficial contributions to the economic, social, and political debates of the nineteenth century'.¹³⁶ This analysis certainly seems true when applied to issues concerning Māori generally and the issue of land specifically. The Prohibition movement brought together an alliance of churches from the mainly

¹³¹ *The New Zealand Primitive Methodist*, 1 October, 1879, p7, cited in Kempster, p.25.

¹³² *Church Gazette*, March 1881, cited in Kempster, p.27.

¹³³ Kempster, p.33.

¹³⁴ Davidson, p.64.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

evangelical tradition between 1880 and 1920, but there were few leaders who were exercised by the wider issues of social justice and reform.

The advent of twentieth century yielded little change to the church's overall narrow social concern. The two world wars did highlight the pastoral role played by the church to a nation at war and the severe economic conditions, post- World War I, saw the rise of a group of Christians which included future Prime Minister Walter Nash and future Finance Minister Arnold Nordmeyer who shared a concern for what were called 'social questions'.¹³⁷ Yet despite the Labour Party's rise to power and the formation of a 'welfare state' in New Zealand, influenced as it was by a synthesis of socialist ideology and Christian concern, aspirations of Māori were seldom considered. The paternalism of nineteenth century colonialism was still reflected in the political and ecclesial policies of assimilation.

The first significant steps by the religious community to address indigenous issues came with the 1941 formation of the National Council of Churches (NCC), comprising Presbyterians, Anglicans, Methodists, Baptists, Associated Churches of Christ, Congregationalists, the Society of Friends and Salvation Army. In line with ecumenical moves overseas this organisation began to address racism, and specific indigenous issues such as Māori language, and the Treaty of Waitangi. However, Hans Mol's study on *Religion and Race in New Zealand* in 1966 indicated that assimilationist policies of integration were still favoured at this time among most churches.¹³⁸ This perspective remained, until an emerging Māori activism and nascent postcolonial discourse within some academic circles in the 1970s and 1980s challenged the majority view. At this juncture, the church understood, along with other sectors of society that race relations in New Zealand were less than ideal, and that although Pākehā might have forgotten about the Treaty of Waitangi, *tangata whenua* had not. Significantly, a sector within the church accepted the challenge laid down by Māori and began to re-evaluate the understanding of their mission, both past and future.

¹³⁷ Keith Sinclair, cited in Davidson, p.108.

¹³⁸ Hans Mol, *Religion and Race*, cited in Davidson, p.136.

Chapter Five: The Restoration of 'Naboth's Vineyard'? The Search for Reconciliation in Aotearoa New Zealand

Within our reconciliation paradigm the historical analysis of the preceding two chapters has served to fulfil the component of truth-recovery. It is an essential activity in the reconciliation process and equates to a form of 'listening' that engages in this instance with the challenge of Treaty betrayal and marginalization levelled at Pākehā New Zealanders. I submit that this 'listening' in turn, is an important act of *metanoia* or repentance and a first step in our reconciliation dialogue. This perspective finds support in the words of late Māori author Pat Heretaunga Baker, 'For there to be reconciliation between Maori and European, between the first people of the land, anywhere, and those who come from afar and invade, there must be recognition and acceptance of what has happened in our past. Together we can go from there'.¹³⁹ I intend in this concluding chapter first to summarize the result of this 'listening' or historical analysis and then via some examples, suggest a type of truth and repentance that might lead towards reconciliation in the New Zealand context.

The analysis has shown that church leaders were instrumental in negotiating the Treaty of Waitangi between the Crown and indigenous *rangatira*. Despite the clear commitments within the articles of this covenant to honour Māori sovereignty over their lands, within a century of the signing, for multiple reasons they had lost control of over ninety per cent of their holdings. Their various attempts to combat this alienation, including military action, non violent direct protests, and petitions to Parliament, were essentially in vain.

Significantly, although the church despaired at the exodus of Māori from within their ranks, it seems that while many may have rejected Pākehā institutions, the Bible continued to be a foundational source of solace and inspiration. This was expressed in several ways, for some, via biblically- inspired prophetic liberation movements and yet

¹³⁹ Heretaunga Pat Baker, *The Strongest God*, New Zealand: Cape Catelty, 1990, p.239.

for others it was their contextualized use of Naboth's vineyard as a liberation motif. Meanwhile as I have demonstrated, despite early opposition to land alienation, the church itself was compromised by its own complicity in dubious land dealings, such as the CMS block in Tauranga and the controversy over missionary holdings. As well the church, while its members stood to gain politically and economically by the transfer of land ownership remained virtually silent over a long period of time despite the pleas of Māori. This silence amounts to an implicit condoning of a serious injustice and together with its direct complicity in land alienation was an abrogation of the church's prophetic and pastoral responsibility to Māori. This viewpoint is also echoed by New Zealand church historian Allan Davidson:

The Church was certainly complicit in land alienation in the nineteenth century both actively and passively. Where was the church voice when the legislation was passed in the 1860s that resulted in confiscations? Where was the church voice when the Native Land Court was used to wrest land from Maori hands? Where was the church voice when the Maori King and Te Kotahitanga protested against the loss of land? Where was the church voice when Te Whiti and Tohu and their followers were trying to defend their land?¹⁴⁰

Since 1990, there has been a perceptible shift in the church's willingness to engage with the historical grievances raised by Bishop Vercoe and others. The following examples are by no means an exhaustive representation of these responses, but serve as an indication of a changing trend. I began the study with a reference to the twenty-one point statement issued by the CCANZ who nominated the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Treaty of Waitangi as a '*kairos*' or 'crisis' year.¹⁴¹ The statement by the Conference of Churches identified their renewed commitment to the Treaty and a willingness to 'face past realities'. The document certainly gave a form of reconciliation leadership to the rest of the church at an important time and hopefully signalled to Māori a 'changed mindset'. However, it fell short of publicly acknowledging the church's direct and indirect complicity in the marginalization of Māori, and yielded no confession of sin,

¹⁴⁰ Allan Davidson, Personal communication to me via email 24 April 2007.

¹⁴¹ 'A Church Leaders' Statement for 1990: A Backgrounder', Wellington: Conference of Churches in Aotearoa New Zealand, February 1990, p.5, [http://www.casi.org.nz/statements](http://www.casi.org.nz/statements_StmtChLdrs90.htm), StmtChLdrs90.htm.

a component I have suggested is integral to a repentance that contributes to a reconciliation of integrity.

In 1997, Vision New Zealand, the re-named Evangelical Alliance of New Zealand, an 'umbrella' organisation of mainly conservative evangelical and Pentecostal churches, also expressed a call at their Congress to honour the Treaty. Although there was no joint statement to that effect, the gathering did have a time of confession, whereby representatives of various groups expressed sorrow and repentance for past failures. To what extent this 'in-house' confession was effective in advancing the 'reconciliation cause' is difficult to ascertain. However, their actions do reflect contrition and a willingness to grapple with social and political issues that traditionally have not been a prominent dimension of evangelical and Pentecostal mission praxis.¹⁴²

While promising, the above calls to 'honour' the Treaty need to go further. Returning to our theoretical model, as John de Gruchy has said, '[B]oth words and deeds are necessary if we are to rescue reconciliation from banality'.¹⁴³ The church may well look to the example of Dietrich Bonhoeffer's vicarious confession over the silence of the German church during the rise of Nazism during the 1930s, this despite his personal 'innocence':

She [the Church] has been silent when she should have cried out because the blood of the innocent was crying aloud to heaven. She failed to speak the right word in the right way at the right time. She has not resisted to the uttermost apostasy of faith, and she has brought upon herself the guilt of godlessness of the masses.¹⁴⁴

Another way forward would be a willingness to contextualize the biblical understanding of reconciliation. In South Africa, the post-apartheid government embarked on a reconciliation programme with the appointment of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. While the principles employed in the formation of the Commission's agenda reflected a strong reliance on Christian principles of justice and reconciliation, it also drew upon the indigenous concept of *ubuntu*. This sub-Saharan world view

¹⁴² Patrick Bruce, (ed), *The Vision New Zealand Congress*, Auckland: Vision NZ, 1997.

¹⁴³ de Gruchy, p.22.

¹⁴⁴ Bonhoeffer, *Ethics*, cited in de Gruchy, p.110.

operates as a guide for social conduct as well as a philosophy of life. *Ubuntu* represents humanity and group solidarity and '[I]ts core belief is "umntu ngumntu ngabantu, motho ke motho ba batho ba bangwe", literally translated as "a human being is a human being because of other human beings"'.¹⁴⁵

In the New Zealand context, the church can also utilize indigenous concepts that are consistent with the biblical reconciliation agenda. As well as being an effective reconciliatory tool, this strategy will also help deconstruct some of its historical habits of paternalism and patronisation of Māori. An often used Māori proverb reflects on the importance of a personal touch:

Hutia te rito o te harakeke – When you open the heart of the flax plant
Mai wai te komako e ko? – Where will the *Komako* sing
E patai atu ahau ki a koe, - Let me ask you
He aha te mea nui o te Ao? – What is the most important thing in this world?
He tangata, he tangata, he tangata. – It is people, it is people, it is people.

Related to this concept of the centrality of people in *te ao Māori* (Māori worldview) is the principle of *kanohi ki te kanohi* (lit. face to face). This value dictates to Māori that all important issues need to be traversed within interpersonal dialogue and consensus, outworked in face to face meetings - such media as telephone and letter writing for example are not always considered suitable. Perhaps even less effective is the release of statements such as those by CCANZ. The issuance of such statements might satisfy European requirements, but will have minimal impact outside the Pākehā world. The process of reconciliation inevitably involves 'dialogue' and as such needs to extend beyond monolingual confines (literally and metaphorically), a traditional tool of dominant institutions. '*Kanohi ki te kanohi*' is a good model for the outworking of this cross-cultural encounter and is consistent with the paradigm of social reconciliation as restored community. The employment of this method is seen in the following two examples.

In September 2006, Anglican representatives of the Waiapu Diocese apologised to local Māori for encouraging the government to suppress Tuhoe prophet Rua Kenana almost

¹⁴⁵ Alex Boraine, *A Country Unmasked*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, p. 362.

one hundred years ago. The event was recorded in a national newspaper under the heading, 'Church sorry after 99 years'.¹⁴⁶ The current Bishop of Waiapu, John Bluck, stated that the, 'Church's stance contributed to an environment that in 1915 saw Rua Kenana arrested at Maungapohatu...and face one of the longest trials in New Zealand history...On Sunday, the annual synod of the Diocese of Waiapu in Napier passed a motion apologising for the 1907 decision.'¹⁴⁷ As a follow-up to this motion, leaders of the Church made a pilgrimage to various significant sites in the area, including Rua's village of Maungapohatu to carry the apology in person. Reports suggest that the pilgrimage was well received, 'one *kuiā* (female elder) said at the end of a journey, "The land remembers"; and at Maungapohatu another *kuiā* said to us as we left, "The Mountain forgives"'.¹⁴⁸ This apology contained two important components, firstly it operated within the indigenous model of 'face to face', and secondly it was specific in its content.

Meanwhile in January 2007, *Te Kohinga* (the Network), an interdenominational group of Christian leaders who have been working towards reconciliation in the Tauranga region for over ten years, invited Māori *kaumatua* (elders) of the region for a meeting, *kanohi ki te kanohi*. The agenda was to inform the elders of their desire to be reconciled with Māori. At the meeting the leaders posited a question to the elders, 'What do we need to do to be reconciled'? This was the first significant 'face to face' encounter between Christian leaders and some of the Māori descendants in the region since the wars and confiscation of land in the 1860s. *Kaumatua* were gracious in their response to the exploratory question offered by the Tauranga leaders, and the resultant suggestions has provided an 'agenda' that will hopefully facilitate effective and reconciliatory dialogue in the future.¹⁴⁹

Two other principles needing consideration remain, the first I shall term specificity and the other being restitution. Both are important to avoid accusations of 'cheap reconciliation'. In 2005, a group of Christians visited Parihaka Pa (village) in Taranaki,

¹⁴⁶ *The New Zealand Herald*, 19 September 2006.

¹⁴⁷ *ibid.*

¹⁴⁸ Reverend Brian Hamilton, personal email to me 20/10/2006.

¹⁴⁹ Personal recollection of the meeting held at Holy Trinity Anglican Church, Tauranga, 31 January, 2007.

the site of serious government injustice in the 1880s, already referred to in our historical chapters. One of the purposes of the visit was to express remorse as Pākehā for the events of the past. On their arrival, a Parihaka Māori elder Te Miringa Hohaia, queried them, 'What are you actually sorry for'?¹⁵⁰ His prompting reveals a desire for something specific, rather than a generalised statement. He sought explicit acknowledgement of the rape of the women, the incarceration of his ancestors, and the alienation of his land. To re-quote Psalm 51: 6, 'Surely you desire truth in the inner parts'. Truth-telling as envisaged by the Psalmist needs to carry more than generalized statements of sorrow are able to do. This is part of a justice requirement that is crucial to maintain integrity.

The second principal, restitution, as stated in the theoretical section, may be a necessary component of repentance depending on the nature of the offence. With regard to land alienation and New Zealand as Naboth's vineyard, this is certainly apposite. Apology will not suffice. In this respect, the church needs to follow the Crown's example and find a fitting way to offer restitution for its complicity in land alienation. This may be monetary or it may involve the transfer of land. Owners of large land holdings, such as the Anglican Church are in a good position to follow through with this strategy. This is particularly appropriate in cases where it can be shown that the church was directly involved in cases of betrayal of trust, such as the CMS's conveyance to the Crown of the Te Papa block in Tauranga.

To date, the extraordinary injustice that led to New Zealand being likened to 'Naboth's vineyard' remains unacknowledged by the church. Bishop Whakahuihui Vercoe's 'reconciliatory challenge' is still current. My sense is that despite the above examples of accountability for the past, the question of land alienation especially, has been largely undealt with and remains a stumbling block to serious reconciliatory efforts. I suggest that the church needs to incorporate further this goal of reconciliation into its understanding of mission and make it an activity of the highest priority. Specifically in the New Zealand context, this will involve ongoing activities of truth-recovery, truth-telling and restitution as tangible evidence of repentance - it will be this kind of

¹⁵⁰ Te Miringa Hohaia – the episode recounted to me personally by Graeme Carle, a New Zealand minister involved with reconciliation efforts at Parihaka.

commitment to the gospel of peace that will facilitate a healed relationship with Māori, and by God's grace contribute to a restored community that better reflects the divine *telos*.

APPENDIX I: A Church Leaders' Statement for 1990

1. 1990 marks a number of milestones in the history of our nation. The central one is the fact that 150 years have passed since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. This gives an opportunity to take stock of what has happened during the last 150 years, and look to the future.

2. For the people of New Zealand the Treaty of Waitangi is a key element in making us a unique nation. It is a living document affirming inalienable Maori rights and providing the basis for settlement, government, and our life together as peoples of a Treaty.

3. In this statement we wish to set out ways that this anniversary year can be a time for us all to examine and learn from the past, and to renew our commitment to express the Treaty in our future life together.

4. The Christian Church holds the right to speak about and be concerned for the Treaty of Waitangi. Many of the signatories, both Maori and Pakeha, were Christian. We acknowledge the influence of the Christian missionaries in the events of 1840 -in advocating, translating, witnessing the signing, and collecting the signatures to the Treaty. When it was signed there was also specific reference made to protection of the rights of the various religious traditions of both Maori and Pakeha. So, from the Christians who were present in 1840, through the Churches of the settlers who arrived subsequently, to our Churches today, the Treaty remains part of our history, part of our life, part of our responsibility.

5. We are a nation made up of peoples from many parts of the world; all are bound together in that special covenant relationship with the original people of the land - te tangata whenua. For all who have come to live in New Zealand since 1840, the Treaty of Waitangi guarantees the right to be here, a right which carries with it responsibilities to be people of the Treaty - te tangata tiriti. We are linked together by a relationship, a partnership founded on mutual assurances and obligations between those signing.

6. As for us in our own Churches, we accept the challenge this gives us to make sure that we are working in a way that honours the Treaty, and respects the rights and obligations it guarantees. This includes an acknowledgement of the status of the tangata whenua, and of tino rangatiratanga. It involves such things as the sharing of power and resources, the investigation of our land-holdings, the rapid settlement of just claims and the use of the Maori language.

7. In 1990 we affirm that this is our Treaty and we resolve to honour it.

8. In the course of 150 years, as settlers outnumbered Maori, established patterns of life emerged that have often excluded Maori values and lifestyle. The settlers built their values and priorities into the institutional systems - schools, prisons, courts, parliament, trade unions, local bodies, hospitals and churches. Today, as many social indicators

show, those systems serve the needs and interests of Pakeha people better than they serve Maori people. Today, most of the land is controlled by Pakeha people. English is the language spoken. Maori cultural values and practices have been eroded. It is a struggle for Maori people to hold on to those things which they were guaranteed under the Treaty.

9. While Maori have sought to have the Treaty honoured over the years, for many New Zealanders it has only recently come back into focus. It requires a response. Today, the commitment of Maori people to the Treaty of Waitangi remains visible. This commitment is less obvious for others, although there are signs of hope. We affirm the significant advances made by some people in the study and understanding of the Treaty as the essential basis of change for us all.

10. The backlog of claims before the Waitangi Tribunal is ample evidence that there are continuing and compounding injustices to be put right. However, a sense of fairness and mutual goodwill exists alongside continuing ignorance, fear and anger. Many families share the heritage of both Treaty partners, and there are bonds of friendship and neighbourliness.

11. In 1990 we acknowledge these realities that have emerged from our history, and we resolve to work for justice and equity, so that Gospel reconciliation may prevail.

12. What do we see and hope for in the future? To See and Hope in faith - the future is always full of hope.

13. As Christians we recognise God's loving presence among all peoples. We rejoice in the love of God which empowers us in our struggle towards justice and unity. We believe that Christ leads us to affirm the dignity and worth of every human being.

14. We believe that it is our Christian calling in Aotearoa to honour the Treaty. It was seen by many in 1840 as a covenant with its own spiritual significance and we uphold that today. In this we follow the leadership of people like Sir James Henare who considered the Treaty of Waitangi to be "a sacred treasure". We believe the Treaty is the basis of our nationhood.

15. We give thanks that the Treaty of Waitangi makes possible an exciting future if only we have the courage to make it the focus of our nation-building. This year is our chance to put fears to rest. We are convinced that truth and justice are stronger than fear. To respect and abide by the Treaty is to act justly. We call on Christians, and all other people of goodwill, to live out that hope.

16. We believe there are Treaty issues of power and resource-sharing to be firmly, fairly and speedily settled in both church and state.

17. We believe the means for cultural survival and renewed development of the tangata whenua, as they themselves determine, are priorities in the just distribution of resources.

18. We believe there needs to be political restructuring which recognises Maori as a people possessing tino rangatiratanga according to the terms of the Treaty.

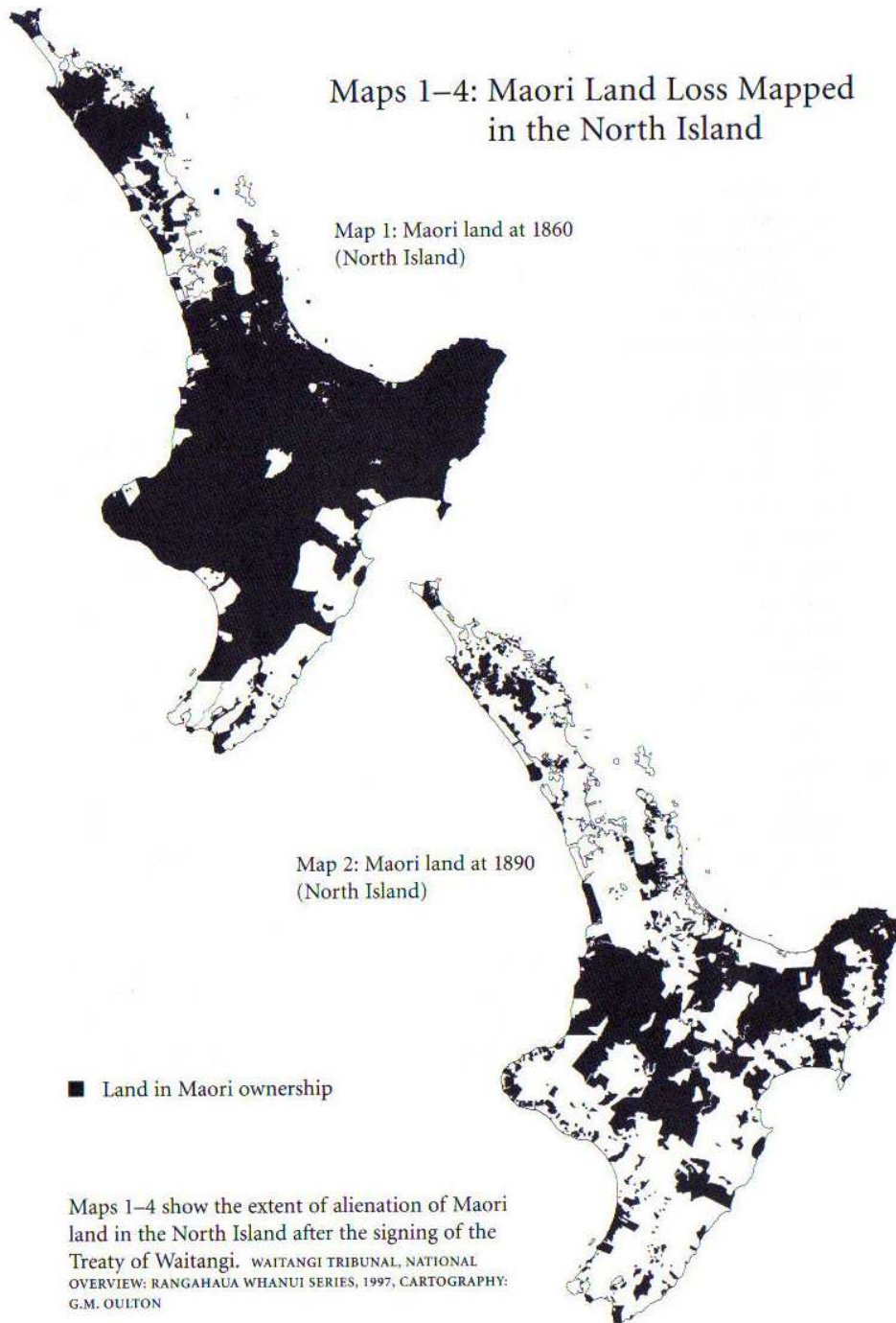
19. We believe that the Maori values of stewardship and conservation, which we share, need to be incorporated into joint and continuing care for our environment.

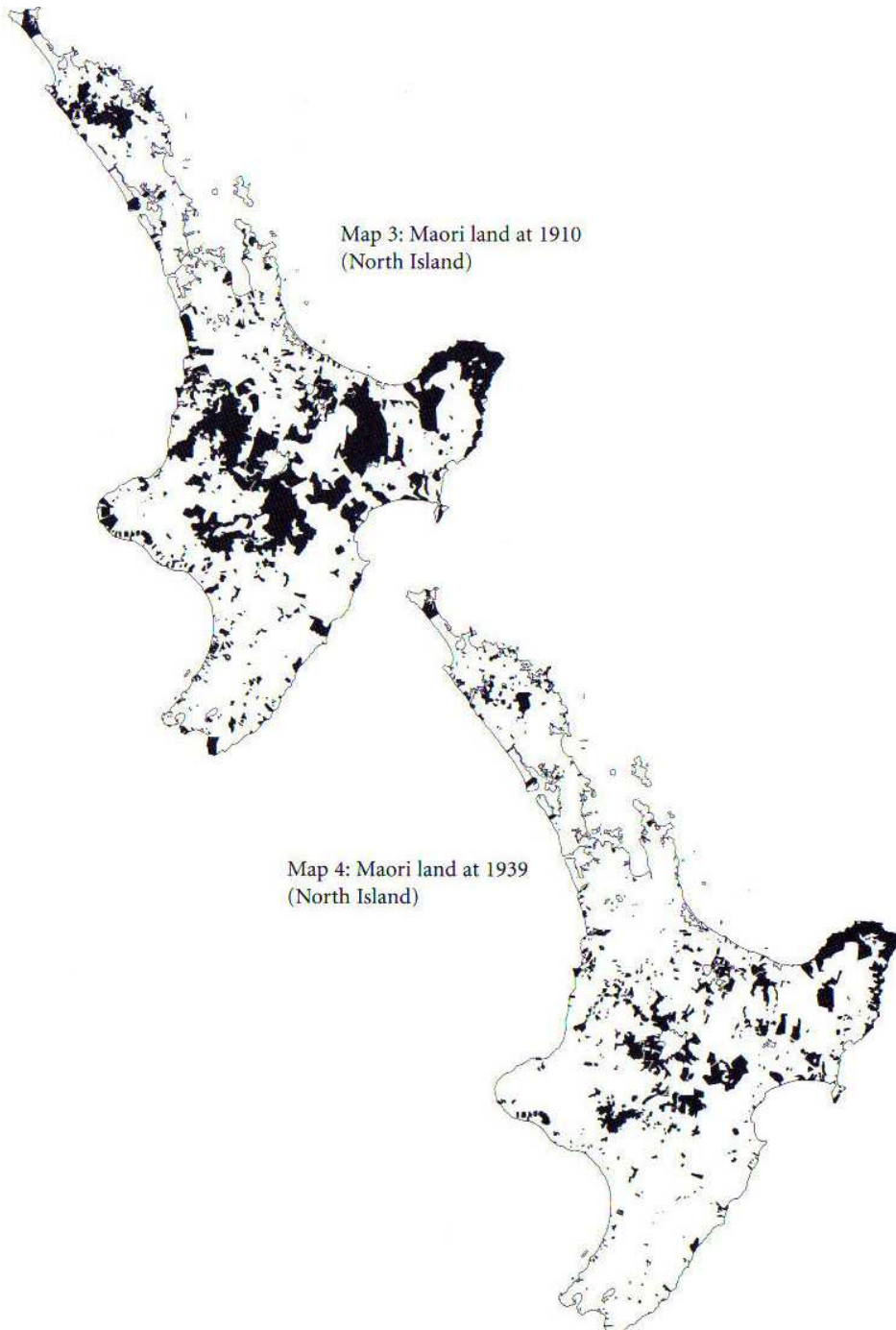
20. We believe in and trust the Waitangi Tribunal as a forum for examining Maori claims. Any delay in implementing the Tribunal's recommendations for purely political reasons cannot be tolerated. We also affirm the continuing need for the Tribunal as an effective and creative means of identifying past injustices, and seeking just ways the Treaty partners can work together in the future.

21. We believe a strong and creative partnership, in all aspects of our common life, based on the Treaty, will give us peace and strength. This partnership will involve a deep mutual respect, communication, and pride in our cultural heritages. We offer to the nation what is true for us in the Church: In 1990 this is our confidence and our hope.

Appendix II: Māori Land Alienation

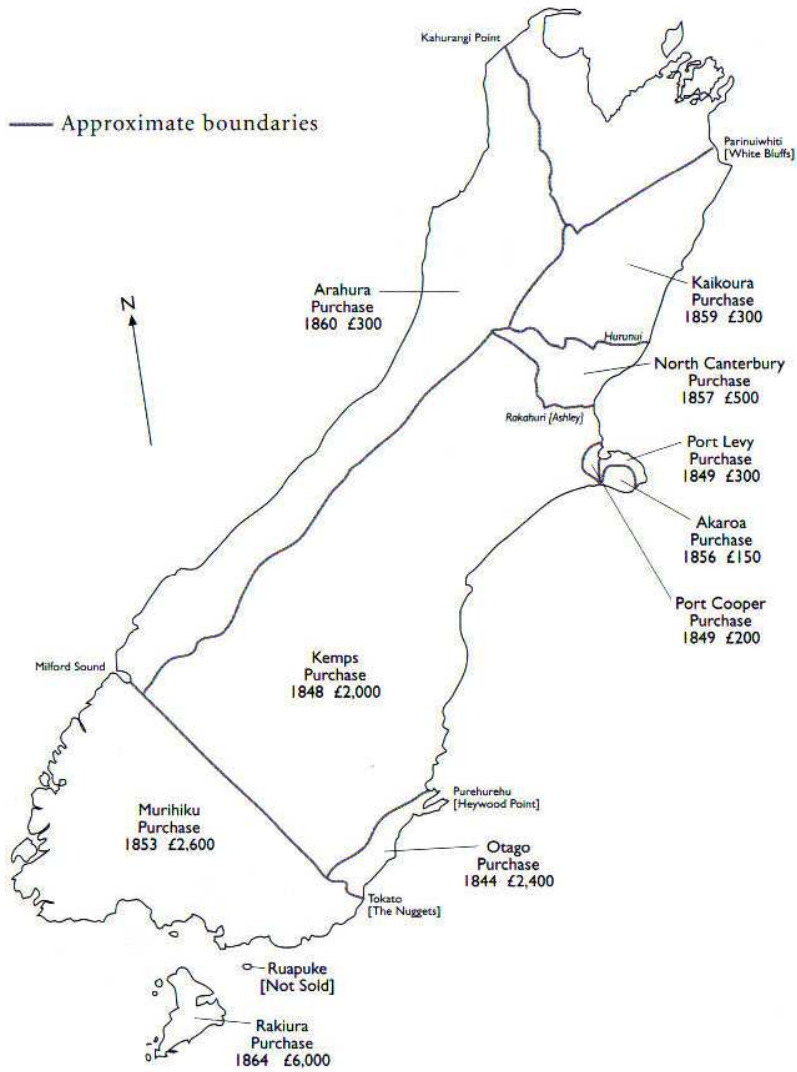
Maps 1–4: Maori Land Loss Mapped in the North Island





Map 5: Land Purchases in the South Island 1844–64

Map not to same scale as North Island maps preceding.



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